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# ILLINOIS AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS STAFF PAPER

REBIRTH OF RURAL AMERICA:

Rural Migration in the Midwest

Edited by

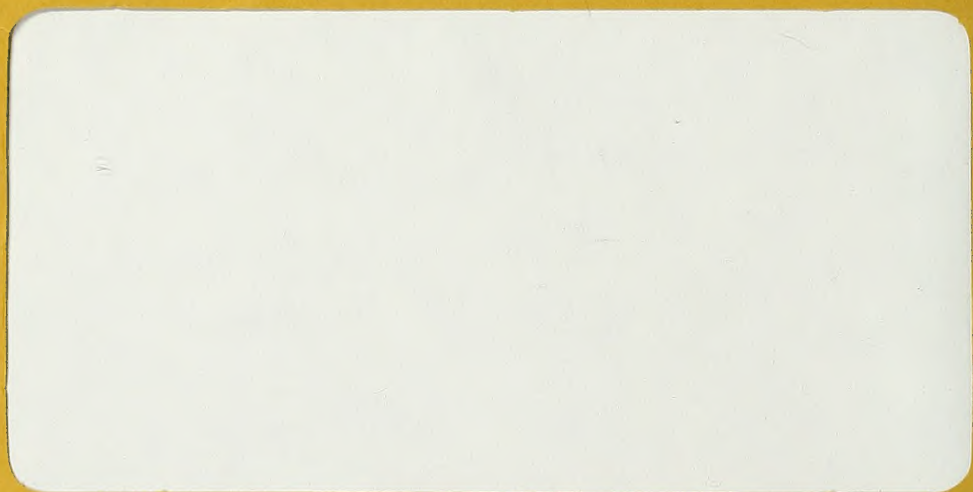
Andrew J. Sofranko and James D. Williams

December 1978

No. 78 S-8



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Review Draft

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# REBIRTH OF RURAL AMERICA

## INTRODUCTION

Migration from the countryside to urban areas has been the dominant form of population redistribution in the U.S. for decades, with large metropolitan areas growing faster, and at the expense of rural and other nonmetropolitan areas. In more recent years, however, population estimates have been documenting a reversal of this long-term trend. Whether it is referred to as the "new migration," the "rural renaissance," or the "demographic revival of nonmetropolitan territory," the data are illustrating in simple terms a renewal of population growth in nonmetropolitan areas in general, and rural areas in particular. This new trend reversing the massive rural-to-urban migration of the past several decades is broad-based, becoming firmly established, and not confined to areas surrounding large urban centers. Over all, the 1970s appear to be a decade of centrifugal drift of population to more rural residences.

Various explanations, ranging from economics to attitudes (Beale, 1976), have arisen to account for this rural revitalization. Growing employment opportunities in rural areas, disenchantment with urban life, environmental and ecological concerns, as well as a narrowing of the historical gap between urban and rural differences, have been suggested as stimuli. As a result of general affluence and a variety of structural changes in American society, there is a growing "floating population" (Morrison and Wheeler, 1976) which can settle where it pleases and which can act on its desires. It is presumed that the new urban-to-rural migrants are such highly voluntary types.

News media accounts of the trend and results from secondary data analyses and residential preference surveys have converged on the explanation that, unlike past rural-to-urban migration, current rural growth is characterized



more by an emphasis on quality of life than economic motivations in the decision to move and in the choice of destination. Despite this fairly widespread consensus regarding the noneconomic basis for renewed rural growth, there has been little direct research on this "cause" of the reversal or on a host of other issues which it implies.

The research reported here has been designed to provide detailed information on the migration experiences of recent urban-to-rural migrant households in high net immigration counties of the North Central Region. The overall objectives are, first, to address some of the more fundamental questions characteristics of migrants, raised by the new migration such as the/origins and destinations of migrants, motivations underlying the migration decisions, socioeconomic and quality of life changes experienced by migrants, and adjustment and integration difficulties. These issues will be the focus of Part I. Second, the research will address some selected impact issues associated with the new migration. It is becoming increasingly apparent that rural growth has the potential for altering rural areas, culturally as well as demographically. Migrants may be quite different from residents in background and personal characteristics as well as on the perspectives they bring to their new destinations. All impact is ultimately tempered by the relative permanence of migrants who may eventually move once again. These impact issues will be the focus of Part II.

And, third, the report will focus on several population subgroups which draw considerable attention in discussions of the new migration: older migrants, those moving for employment versus amenity reasons, and return migrants. Each of these subgroups will be subjected to a closer examination of motivations, costs and benefits, experiences, and outlooks and expectations in Part III.



## RECENT NONMETROPOLITAN MIGRATION TRENDS

The dominant form of past population redistribution in the United States has been migration from rural areas and smaller places up the urban hierarchy. As a result highly urbanized, metropolitan areas of the nation have grown faster than, and at the expense of, nonmetropolitan rural areas. Between 1933 and 1970, for example, the farm population alone made a net contribution of about 29 million people to the nation's cities (Smith and Zopf, 1976:503).

Urban industrial and business expansion required much more labor than was available in cities, thus providing the impetus for urban employment growth. At the same time mechanization in agriculture brought increased productivity per farm worker and created a surplus population in rural areas. The growing numbers of surplus workers in rural areas thus found a simultaneously growing urban labor market with expanding employment opportunities. The resulting rural-to-urban migration stream continued well into the 1950s.

In the sixties concern arose over the consequences of this rural-to-urban shift. It had produced urban sprawl, highly concentrated enclaves of central-city poverty and fiscal decline in the metropolitan areas. At the same time many rural areas were left depopulated and economically depressed. Ironically, concern arose as the surplus rural population was being depleted, for by the end of the 1960s the great rural-to-urban flow had dwindled to a trickle and cities became increasingly dependent upon natural increase and net intermetropolitan gains for their population growth. Some nonmetropolitan areas were growing and they were generally located near



large, metropolitan centers and were able to capture the growth-inducing effects of urban spillover.

The decade of the seventies has thus far produced surprising evidence of an unanticipated trend in metropolitan-nonmetropolitan population exchange patterns. Not only has the rural-to-urban movement come to an end, it has actually reversed direction, and nonmetropolitan areas are, over all, now growing faster than metropolitan areas. Migration from cities has exceeded migration to cities throughout the 1970-77 period, giving rise to what has been termed a "population turnaround" or "rural renaissance." This reversal of the dominant migration stream has occurred at a time when it was assumed that the trend toward metropolitan concentration would continue into the future as an inevitable concomitant of economic development and urban dominance, and when public attention was focused on the problem of population distribution and the need for explicit national population policies (Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, 1972; Fuguitt, 1971; President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, 1967).

Numerous hypotheses have arisen to explain the new migration trend. Among these are the movement of the urban elderly to rural retirement and recreation areas, the growth-inducing effects of state universities and community colleges located in nonmetropolitan counties, rural industrialization and industrial decentralization, super-suburbanization, and the reaction of many individuals and families to the problems associated with urban life (Fuguitt and Beale, 1976). The explanations reflect a combination of urban push and rural pull factors. It is thus assumed that while some migrants are reacting to urban conditions, others are being attracted by perceived favorable conditions in more rural areas.



The basis for much of the current speculation on causes rests on analysis of secondary county data, simulation models of the U.S. economy, and small surveys conducted as case studies. For the most part, research on the migration reversal has been directed toward describing nonmetropolitan areas which have had high rates of net immigration. These comparisons and other indicators of change in more rural areas have provided the basis for inferring motives for moving.

A review of the evidence for and against several of the prevailing explanations is instructive as it serves to suggest important questions about the new trend which remain unanswered. In the recent past urban growth has been accompanied by suburbanization, leading to suggestions that the recent upsurge in nonmetropolitan growth is simply reflecting employment decentralization and suburbanization through further urban sprawl. However, evidence presented by McCarthy and Morrison (1978) indicates that urban sprawl no longer fully accounts for the growth that nonmetropolitan areas now experience. In comparing rates of net migration for 1960-1970 with 1970-1974, they conclude (1978: 27) that the revival of nonmetropolitan growth has occurred in all regions, in all types of nonmetropolitan counties, and most notably in the rural, and the influence of metropolitan adjacency has largely disappeared. Beale and Fuguitt (1975) have considered whether nonmetropolitan immigration reflects urbanization among nonmetropolitan growth centers. They find that:

Within size of place groups adjacent counties still show higher rates than those not adjacent to SMSAs. But, counties without an urban center, both in adjacent and nonadjacent locations, had the highest rates of population change and net migration (1975:7).



Morrison and Wheeler (1976:11), in their examination of a possible suburbanization explanation, found that "counties with the least commuting have experienced the most pronounced change in growth pattern . . ." for the periods 1960-70 and 1970-74.

The results of these analyses document that net immigration to nonmetropolitan areas is occurring in counties adjacent to metropolitan areas, as well as in the more remote and less urbanized counties. It is in these latter counties that turnaround is most startling since, as Wilbur Zelinsky suggests, it is necessary to ". . . confront those hundreds of remote, thinly settled, and emphatically bucolic counties for whose recent demographic resurgence there is no halfway plausible economic rationale" (1977: 176).

Recreation and retirement areas in the nation have also shown considerable growth over the past decade. However, since the effects of these two sources of change are operationally and spatially difficult to disentangle (Beale, 1975:9), it's unknown just how important each is to the new trend.

Residential preference surveys have consistently presaged the current reversal. Over the past ten years a majority of Americans responding to polls have indicated that if jobs and services were available, they would choose to live in less urbanized areas though near metropolitan centers (Zuiches and Fuguitt, 1976). This expressed preference for more rural life has led to suggestions that the post-1970 shifts in migration patterns may largely reflect the extent to which people are acting out preferences, and, in particular, implementing their disenchantment with living in highly urbanized areas. In fact, Zuiches and Fuguitt (1976:10) found a rough correspondence between the redistribution implied by preferences and actual patterns of post-1970 redistribution.



This rural preference, anti-urban explanation has become especially evident in the popular media where the population reversal has consistently been highlighted by "green dream" or "back to the land" themes. However, evidence for this popular explanation consists mostly of a few selected interviews with recent migrants and remains circumstantial and anecdotal at best.

#### Recent Trends in the North Central Region<sup>1/</sup>

The North Central Region, comprising 12 states, is both large and heterogeneous. With a 1970 population of over 56 million, it includes more than 25 percent of the nation's population. Past population trends in both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan portions of the region have been similar to those for the nation as a whole. Net outmigration from nonmetropolitan areas continued through the 1950s and into the 1960s, although in some parts of the region, such as the Ozarks portion of Missouri, and upper Michigan, migration turnaround became evident before 1970. Since 1970 the North Central region as a whole has shown the same general population patterns that have characterized the nation. Table 1 presents population change and net migration data for metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties classified by location and level of urbanization.

[Table 1 about here]

In the two previous decades metropolitan counties grew at annual rates of 2.09% and 1.22%. Since 1970, though, average annual growth has been only .22%, a marked slowdown. This decline in growth is noticeable across all types of metropolitan counties, but it is most pronounced in the core counties of metropolitan areas of a million and over--those containing the

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<sup>1/</sup> Much of the information presented in the following section is from Fuguitt and Beale (1978).



Table 1. Annual Rates of Population Change and Net Migration, by Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Location Categories, North Central States 1950-60, 1960-70, 1970-74.

County characteristic and location	Annual rate of population change			Annual rate of net migration			(Number of Counties)
	1950-60	1960-70	1970-74	1950-60	1960-70	1970-74	
North Central States							1056
Metropolitan							181
SMSAs 1 million up	2.09	1.22	.22	.45	.03	-.55	
Core counties	1.35	.53	-.73	-.18	-.58	-1.40	12
Fringe counties	4.68	2.97	1.61	2.86	1.62	.71	50
SMSAs 250,000 to 1 million	2.23	1.21	.44	.47	-.02	-.38	63
SMSAs less than 250,000	1.71	1.22	.70	.11	.04	-.07	56
Nonmetropolitan							875
Adjacent	.36	.27	.77	-.93	-.51	.32	298
SLP 10,000 up <sup>a</sup>	.77	.58	.78	-.48	-.24	.26	82
2,500-10,000	1.32	.84	.51	-.05	-.12	-.12	164
less than 2,500	.33	.34	1.03	-.83	-.36	.60	52
Not adjacent	-.49	.00	1.50	-1.46	-.45	1.31	577
SLP 10,000 up <sup>a</sup>	-.02	-.03	.75	-1.34	-.78	.38	97
2,500-10,000	.80	.60	.84	-.65	-.38	.24	212
less than 2,500	-.27	-.35	.54	-1.50	-.95	.31	268
	-.99	-.71	.99	-2.23	-1.26	.83	

<sup>a</sup>SLP stands for population size of largest place in the county as of 1970.

Source: *Fingert and Beale, 1978.*



downtown and surrounding business areas of major cities. Between 1970 and 1974 this subset of metropolitan counties actually lost population.

Nonmetropolitan counties, by contrast, had an annual population growth rate higher than that for the metropolitan counties (.77% vs. .22%), 1970-1974. And it's not likely that the growth is simply attributable to "spillover" from metropolitan to adjoining counties. The "adjacent" county group, which would reflect the spillover, had an annual growth rate of .78%, compared with .75% for the nonadjacent group. Thus, while there may be some "spillover" or "centrifugal movement" away from metropolitan centers, that is not the entire explanation. Nor can it be argued that growth is occurring largely in the more urbanized nonmetropolitan counties--those with larger towns. The breakdowns by SLP (size of largest place in county) in Table 1 provide very little support for that particular argument. In both the adjacent and nonadjacent counties the most rural counties (with no place of 2500 or more) had the highest average annual rates of growth. The regional data, which parallel national trends, are thus impervious to explanations invoking only the processes of suburbanization or "spillover", or urbanization.

Annual net migration rates demonstrate the important migrational contribution to the slowdown in growth of metropolitan counties. Over all, the loss of population through migration is pervasive in the metropolitan counties of the region, with the exception of the "fringe" counties of the metropolitan areas. Moreover, migration turnaround is pervasive in both adjacent and nonadjacent nonmetropolitan counties. Nonmetropolitan counties experienced net outmigration in the past two decades, but between 1970-74 they have experienced modest annual rates of net immigration. The turnaround is also evident in all SLP categories in nonmetropolitan counties, the single



exception being the most highly urbanized (10,000 and up SLP) adjacent counties. A nice illustration of the turnaround, and its depth, can be seen in a comparison of migration rates for the rural counties and the fringe counties, which consist largely of suburban-type areas. The completely rural counties, both adjacent and nonadjacent, have higher rates of net immigration (1.31% and .83%) than the fringe counties (.71%) for the 1970-74 period.

There has been considerable diversity in patterns of migration among the various states and counties in the region. One concentration of non-metropolitan counties experiencing net immigration in the region is located in the Upper Great Lakes, cut-over lands of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. A second large area is located in the Ozarks region of southern Missouri. States showing overall nonmetropolitan migration turnaround (1970-74) are Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, and Kansas. In Michigan, nonmetropolitan counties showed slight net immigration between 1960 and 1970, and rapid net immigration in the 1970's. In the remaining five states of the region there is still a trend toward overall net outmigration from nonmetropolitan counties, but there have been significant reductions in net outmigration in the post-1970 period as compared to the 60's. There are still nonmetropolitan areas with continued net outmigration, especially in the heavily agricultural Western states of the region, but these losses have been more than offset in the region by other areas experiencing rapid net immigration.

In general, Fuguitt and Beale's analysis suggests that many of the correlates of post-1970 nonmetropolitan population revival which have been demonstrated for the nation also apply in the North Central region. These correlates include the presence of educational institutions, past patterns



of high immigration for those at retirement ages, low dependence on agriculture for employment and neither a very high nor a very low level of dependence upon manufacturing employment.

#### OVERVIEW OF STUDY DESIGN

Given that most current knowledge about the turnaround phenomenon rests on ecological forms of analysis, the justification for acquiring survey data should be self-evident. In particular, survey data are necessary to gain insights about a variety of social-psychological or attitudinal dimensions of the phenomenon. Data of this type are simply not readily available from census sources. While our questionnaire includes much information on characteristics of respondents, our overriding concern in designing this project has been to gather data of a type for which surveys are particularly valuable. The complete survey instrument is provided in Appendix A.

The data reported in the present study were obtained from a 1977 telephone survey of migrants and residents in high net immigration, nonmetropolitan counties of the North Central Region. The Survey Research Laboratory of the University of Illinois conducted telephone interviews with 500 immigrant households from metropolitan areas (SMSAs), 208 from nonmetropolitan areas and 425 residents of the sample area. Complete research and sampling design details are presented in Appendix B.

It was decided that in order to facilitate locating and contacting potential migrants over a broad area, the geographical scope of the survey would have to be narrowed and a phone-directory matching procedure would be used. We focused the research on the 75 nonmetropolitan North Central



## City Population

- 500,000 and over
- 100,000 to 500,000
- 25,000 to 100,000

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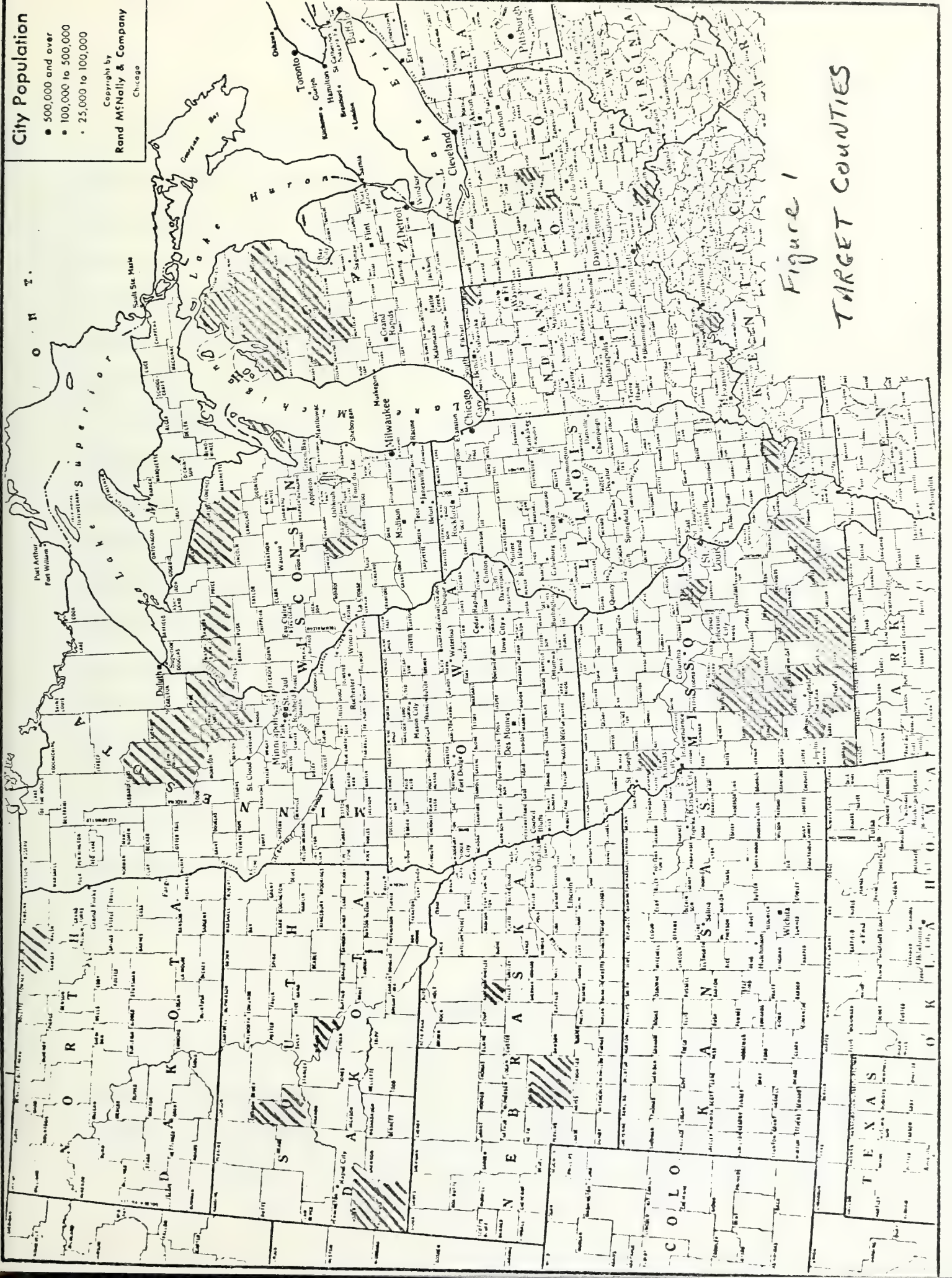


Figure 1  
TARGET COUNTRIES



counties with net immigration rates of 10% or higher, 1970-75. A large portion of these counties are in Michigan, Missouri, and Wisconsin. In general, the counties are by no means homogeneous with regard to the factors assumed to be important to the new migration trend. They are diverse in terms of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, and most are entirely rural and not adjacent to metropolitan areas. A map of target counties is presented in Figure 1.

All telephone exchanges were identified for each of the target counties, and a systematic sample of households was randomly drawn from the most recent directories. These were then matched with 1970 directories, yielding two types of households--expected residents and expected migrants. Subsequent screening was used to identify three respondent types: immigrants (1970-1977) originating in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties and continuous (since 1970) residents. Disproportionately stratified samples were drawn and interviewed from each of these household types (for details, see Appendix B).

Heads of households were the primary target group, though spouses were interviewed after several unsuccessful attempts at contacting the head. Temporary and seasonal residents were excluded and refusal rates were quite low for a survey of this type--ranging from 3% to 9% depending on respondent type.

#### FOCUS OF THE STUDY

The present study was conducted against a background of research which suggests the current migration reversal is being influenced by noneconomic considerations, and against widespread speculation regarding the impact of the "rural renaissance" on migrants, migrant households, and destination areas.



The impetus for the noneconomic basis of the trend has been provided by data from residential preference surveys, secondary data examinations of high immigration areas, and more recently from surveys of individuals moving in a nonmetropolitan direction. Taken together, these various strands of evidence suggest that area amenities, social factors, changes in lifestyle, retirement, and quality of life considerations in general have assumed increased importance in migration decision-making.

While there is some evidence for arguing that noneconomic factors have become important in migration decisions, we have only speculation when it comes to assessing the impacts associated with urban-to-rural moves. There is no shortage of hypotheses, though, regarding the impact of migration at the individual and household levels. On the one hand, migrants are supposedly characterized by the importance they place on noneconomic considerations and a general willingness to forego higher incomes and better jobs for a more rural, simple, amenity-rich environment. On the other hand, though, many are certain to be following the job market or searching for better jobs, in which case the move may be accompanied by economic and occupational improvement. These are an illustration of the varied and inconsistent hypotheses which abound regarding the economic and occupational impacts on migrant households and individuals.

Speculation is just as widespread regarding impact at the community level, where immigration is viewed alternatively as a promise and as a threat. Renewed population growth is seen as an opportunity to redress many of the problems arising from the selective outmigrations of the past, but there are also expressions of fear about rural growth. Newcomers may differ dramatically, have vastly different conceptions about what is appropriate



and desirable for the community, and put added pressure on services and institutions. Debates over impact have been kept at a rather general level with little concern for specifying varieties of impact or the population subgroups which may be having the greater impacts.

Thus, in general there have been few attempts to tie the new rural growth to issues covered in traditional migration research and little research has been conducted which can test, at a broad level, many of the hypotheses suggested by the nonmetropolitan net immigration phenomenon. Existing research is either location-specific, age-specific, or nonsystematic and thus does not provide a good base for establishing generalizations. To confirm many of the hypotheses implicit in the migration turnaround, the "socioeconomic characteristics of the migrants need to be better described, the metropolitan places that serve as source localities need to be better identified, the attractions of nonmetropolitan destinations need to be better understood, and the consequences of the migration for both origin and destination localities need to be better explained" (Chalmers and Greenwood, 1977: 170). The present research which focuses on nonmetropolitan immigration into high growth areas of an entire region, provides the data base for addressing precisely these types of research questions, and for making the comparisons necessary to address the uniqueness of the new migration and its impact.

Much of what has been written about the new migration--the motivations underlying it as well as its presumed impact--is premised largely on the assumed uniqueness of the new stream. Migrants from urban areas are assumed to be responding to stimuli different from those of other migrants and they are assumed to be different from residents of the areas to which they are



moving. Comparisons of types of migrants, and of migrants with rural non-movers, suggest that there are differences (Zuiches and Brown, 1978), but again these comparisons haven't directly addressed the motivational, perceptual, and attitudinal differences which may exist and which may be crucial for assessing continuation of the trend or its impact.

Before we can develop an understanding of whether the new migration trend is in any respects unique, or of its potential impact, there must be some bases against which comparisons can be made. Urban-to-rural migrants may be unique in their response to noneconomic factors, but are they different from other, non-urban origin migrants moving into the same rural counties? A similar question can be raised about urban migrants' impact: Are they sufficiently different from residents of the destination areas that one might argue for an eventual transformation of rural America? A major consideration in the design of the present research has been on obtaining data necessary for making these types of comparative evaluations. Our samples of nonmetro-to-nonmetropolitan migrants and nonmetropolitan residents will permit these assessments.

#### OVERVIEW

Part I of this research report provides fundamental insights into several aspects of the new migration trend in the North Central Region. The primary emphasis will be on migrants themselves with occasional reference to comparable data from nonmetropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan migrants and nonmetropolitan residents. The chapters in Part I are basically descriptive summaries of the survey findings on the characteristics of migrants, the types of places they are coming from and going to, their reasons for moving and for choosing their destinations, the impact of the move on the migrant household, and on the adjustment and integration of migrants in the new setting.



Once the trend toward nonmetropolitan migration had been firmly established, numerous second-order concerns arose regarding the composition of the migrant stream and the impact of the "rural renaissance" on rural areas. More specifically the issue has become focused on who is moving and on how migrants will alter destination areas demographically and culturally. Part II of the research focuses on some selected impacts implied by the new migration. At issue in Part II is whether migrants exhibit differences in values, attitudes and preferences, and whether they are likely to remain permanently in their new residences. Primary attention will focus on the growth and development issue, and, specifically, on whether migrants and residents hold different views, and the implications of those differences. On the mobility expectation issue, the research will focus on the number and characteristics of migrants who are potentially mobile. Over all, Part II is designed to, first, permit examination of demographic changes, and the sources of the changes, attributable to immigration. Second, it will permit establishing whether migrants are more or less receptive to community improvements and growth and development strategies that would encourage growth. And third, it will permit a gross examination of the eventual impact of the new migration on rural areas of the region.

In Part III our attention is turned toward providing more detailed information on several components of the metro-to-nonmetro stream which figure prominently in discussions of the new migration: Job seekers and amenity or quality-of-life movers; older--primarily retirement--migrants; and return migrants. Job seekers and amenity movers are two dominant types



of immigrants to our target areas, and much of the speculation surrounding the continuation of the new migration and its eventual impact on rural areas has focused at one time or another on these modal types. It has also been widely assumed, and reported, that the immigrant stream consists of a heavy elderly flow, many of whom are presumed to be moving for retirement or pre-retirement reasons to areas in which they once lived or to areas in which they have extensive social ties. Other research has documented the incidence and importance of returnees among the recent migrants to rural areas. There has been, however, little specific research on return migrants themselves--why they return, how they differ from nonreturn migrants, the impact of the move on them, or their impact on destination areas. Part III explores many of the general migration processes examined in Part I, but for the specific subpopulations identified above.

In summary, we are reporting rather general findings covering what we believe are the most important issues related to population turnaround. Hopefully, this analysis will provide the basic information for filling a number of the voids in our current understanding of this important migration trend.



## PART I

### INTRODUCTION

Once the population turnaround had been established as a real and relatively widespread phenomenon, a variety of questions arose about the types of individual and households moving to rural areas, their motivations, the types of places they were coming from and in which they were re-locating, the changes and adaptations they experienced as a result of moving, and their future residential mobility. In the first part of the text our efforts are directed toward providing insights in these aspects of the "new migration" in the North Central Region.

The objectives of chapter 1 are to attempt a characterization of the metro-nonmetro migrants in the survey, and to compare them with the nonmetro migrants and residents in the survey. Most of the attention in the chapter is on the metro migrants, and especially on how closely they fit some of the current conceptions on the composition of the metro-nonmetro stream. This presentation is followed up with a comparison of all three sample groups on a standard set of demographic and socioeconomic measures. This comparison serves a dual purpose. It permits the reader to establish how similar or different migrant groups are from one another and from the sample of residents, and it provides the context for interpreting and understanding much of the data presented throughout the text.

In Chapter 2 we focus our attention on the origins and destinations of migrants. We take a broad look at migrants' places of origin and destination. We look, first, at how far they have moved--whether they originated in the state, out-of-state, or even outside the region. We then look at the size of the places of origin and destination, and at the relationship between



the two. Attention then shifts to the migrants' consideration of alternative destinations. Finally, we examine the types of residences migrants are occupying in the destination areas, with particular attention to their levels of farm and country living.

Chapter 3 looks specifically at a host of issues centered on the basic migration decisions of moving from a residence and selecting a destination. The basic questions being raised about the new migration trend concern the migration decision itself: Why are people moving from urban areas and what factors are influencing their choices of destination? Various motivations for moving have been identified but they have been largely inferential, and the question of choice of destination has seldom been raised. Nor is there much empirical basis for positing a "uniqueness" to this particular stream. It is widely argued that the new migration is a vast departure from past trends, and is motivated by different concerns, but there is as yet little evidence to suggest that urban-to-rural migrants are different from any other current group of migrants.

Migrants' destination selections have also been a neglected issue, and largely because it has been felt that the reasons for moving and for choosing a place of destination were empirically indistinguishable, and, if distinguishable the choice of destination was felt to represent the converse of the reason for moving. It is not known for the current new migration trend whether the location decision is distinct from the decision to leave the urban area, and if it is, what factors are influencing the destination selection. In chapter 3 we look at both aspects of the migration decision--why migrants report that they left urban areas and chose the particular destinations they



are currently living in. The research findings are presented in the context of the relative importance of economic and noneconomic considerations in the formulation of these decisions. We also look at migrants' assessments of satisfaction-dissatisfaction with various aspects of the former urban environment. Finally, we look at the relationship between the two dimensions of the migration decision.

The data in chapter 4 focus on the socioeconomic effects of migration on migrant households, with particular attention to some of the "costs" which are presumed to characterize this migrant stream. We assess the extent to which there are employment status, income, and occupational status changes resulting from the move, and in particular we attempt to establish whether there is any evidence that socioeconomic improvements are being "traded-off" for rural amenities. Finally, from a more subjective, quality-of-life perspective, we look at migrants' perceived residential improvements resulting from the move.

The data presented in chapter 4 address many of the fundamental assumptions made about metro migrants' motivations. Historically, migration has been viewed as a means for economic and occupational betterment, for obtaining better housing, and for implementing a variety of residential and locational preferences. Unlike past migrations, though, the new migration is felt to be characterized by the importance migrants have placed on noneconomic considerations. The popular media are rife with illustrations which suggest that urban migrants are foregoing <sup>higher</sup> incomes and better jobs for a more rural, amenity-rich environment. Little is actually known, however, about any of the economic costs or benefits associated with urban-to-rural migration, whether the previously unemployed in urban areas find employment in rural destinations, the employed become unemployed or less employed, or whether workers shift to higher or lower prestige jobs. Nor



do we know much about how household incomes are affected by the move, in either the short run or over time. These and related issues are the topic of chapter 4.

Chapter 5 focuses on the related topics of migrant adjustment and integration in the new residential setting. Data are presented first on migrants' recollection of adjustment difficulties in several areas of community life at the time of the move. The focus then turns to the influence of selected antecedent factors on ease and difficulty in adjusting to the new residential setting. Of particular interest are how the disparity in size between former and current residence affects adjustment, and how migration motivations influence adjustment.

The latter part of chapter 5 addresses one of the frequently raised questions about the metro-nonmetro stream--how actively involved migrants are in their new residences. Particular attention is given to how closely migrants' integration approximates that of current rural residents, how it is affected by time, and how it is influenced by other antecedent factors which have been pointed to as inhibiting and facilitating influences. Finally, the chapter looks at the relationship between integration and mobility expectations.



## Chapter I

Characteristics of Migrants and Residents  
Andrew J. Sofranko and James A. Williams

The perennial questions in migration research are "Who is moving?" and "Why?" In this chapter we are concerned more with the "who" question and primarily with the characteristics of the individuals and households who make up our metro-to-nonmetro sample. We will point out, however, that while it is beneficial to be able to characterize the movers, the important point for destination areas is the degree of difference, if any, between movers and long-term residents. To know who has moved or is likely to move can be useful information since it facilitates estimating the migration potential of a population, but this knowledge also aids in addressing a host of other questions. One of the fundamental questions underlying much of the research on migration is what the effects of a changing population composition are on places of destination and the social processes which are influenced by variations and changes in population. Our intent in this chapter is not to delve into the issue of effects, but to simply describe who the migrants are so that the reader may gain a fairly accurate and general grasp of the nature of our metro migrant group. This is especially important since an enormous amount of writing has been done about who the migrants from urban areas are and are not. Later chapters will look at some of the potential consequences of the differences within the metro migrant group, and between migrants and residents.

In the first part of this chapter we develop a general, overall characterization of the metro-origin migrant sample. The discussion of the metro migrants focuses on several stereotypes which have been bandied about on the new migration. This approach permits us to establish who the migrants are



and at the same time dispell or confirm some of the prevailing conceptions about the new trend. In the second part of the chapter we present a more systematically documented discussion of individual and household characteristics of all three sample groups. Their differences and similarities will provide the basis for understanding much of the data displayed later in the text, and for making inferences about some of the effects which the immigrant streams may be having on rural growth areas of the region.

#### WHO ARE THE METRO MIGRANTS?

Much has been written about the characteristics--presumed or real-- of migrants moving from urban to rural areas. It has been felt that if those monitoring the new migration could establish who was moving they would have better insights into migrants' motivations as well as into the potential cultural and demographic consequences of the population shift. At the same time that we have witnessed concern for identifying the migrants, there have been countless, often contradictory, discussions of who the new migrants are. There is thus some need to correct existing misperceptions and develop accurate characterizations.

Perhaps the most general and accurate observation one can make about the new migrants in the region is that they cannot be characterized easily. They are quite diverse and not readily described by a single label. This stems in large part from the many different influences known to be attracting migrants to these fast-growing rural areas. The counties in the sample are themselves heterogeneous and thus present a variety of stimuli to potential immigrants. As a result many of the current stereotypical notions of who the migrants are will have to be modified, at least at the regional level. We can say unequivocally what they are not: upper middle-class professionals escaping the confines of city living for a more pastoral life



style, in the process setting aside the materialism of the city for a less complex existence; elderly migrants, thoroughly dissatisfied with city life, and going back to areas where they grew up and where they have children; or environmentalists and homesteaders engaged in a back-to-the-land movement, living on farms and farming for a livelihood, and dedicated to the preservation of an agrarian tradition. None of these simplified conceptions describe more than a small portion of the metro migrants.

#### Migrants as Middle Class Escapists

Contrary to media reporting, there is very little evidence that the metro migrant stream is related to an "upper middle class escapism." By even the most liberal definitions, the metro migrants fail to emerge as a true upper middle-class segment of the population. Only slightly more than 40% of the male metro migrants came from what we would term <sup>"upper</sup>white-collar" occupations in their places of origin. Only slightly more than a third of the migrants have gone beyond high school; and in terms of income there is considerable variation. About 40 percent had incomes of \$10,000 or less in the year before the move, hardly evidence that they are an affluent segment of the population. On the other hand, while a substantial number of households (25%) moved for employment reasons, there is simply no evidence that rural areas are serving as magnets for an underclass--the poor, the unemployed, and the unemployable. Less than one in six metro migrant households could be described as low income (under \$5,000) at the time of their move, and most of these were retirees. No more than 3 percent of either males or females in the labor force were unemployed at the time of the move, and within a few years after moving, employment levels among migrants approximate closely the pre-move level, demonstrating, if nothing else, their employability in the new residence. Thus, we see that the metro migrants are not at either of the socioeconomic extremes.



### Migrants as Elderly Returnees

The notion that the migrant stream is composed largely of elderly movers returning to birth places or areas of former residence is not a very accurate characterization, either. How large a portion the elderly are of the inflow varies, of course, with the definition of elderly one employs. Using the standard definition of 65 and over, less than a fifth of the migrants are elderly, roughly the proportion elderly households are of all households in the U.S. Dropping the age to 55 increases the proportion to only slightly more than a third of the migrants, still a relatively small portion of the sample. Return migrants--to either birthplace or area of former residence--make up no more than a fourth to a third of the total migrant sample, again depending on how one defines "return." And the elderly are no different than the sample as a whole, / with less than a fourth returning to counties in which they had lived previously. It is pretty clear that, in general, the metro migrants, elderly and younger migrants alike, are moving to new areas of permanent residence, not "home." The/ are much more likely than the younger migrants to have children in the places where they /but still the figure does/ one in five elderly metro migrants/ In fact, as a result of the move, elderly metro migrants over all are more likely to end up farther from their families than they were before the move. We can thus dispell a subtheme of the elderly-return notion; the new migration is not founded on the "rediscovery of the family." But the metro migrants, elderly and young alike, are not moving to unfamiliar or randomly chosen areas, either. Three out of four had pre-existing ties in the destination areas and primarily ties of friendship developed over the years from vacationing or visiting in the area, owning property in the area, or simply having known someone residing there.



### Metro Migrants As Modern Day Homesteaders

The desire to return to a more agricultural way of life is apparently a dream which pervades urban society, but it does not appear to be terribly deep-rooted, if we can use the current metro migrants as a case in point. About one in five households report living on a farm, but more than two-thirds of those simply live on farms, growing nothing for sale. At most, the sample has turned up about 20-30 families living on farms and farming for a portion of their livelihood. Furthermore, a good portion of those living on farms or farming are clearly in blue-collar occupations, suggesting that even for those on farms there is little evidence of a white-collar "back-to-the-land movement." Other data, including a variety of attitudinal measures of growth and development orientations, offer evidence against the notion that the migrants are bent on preserving the natural attributes of their new residences out of some environmental concern. On the contrary, they tend to view growth in their new areas as good.

### SOME ACCURATE CONCEPTIONS OF METRO MIGRANTS

The data go a long way toward dispelling some of the prevailing misconceptions which abound regarding the types of individuals and households moving to rural areas. They also provide the documentation for other widely held beliefs about the new migration, particularly beliefs about migrants' motivations for moving and choosing destinations and about the types of places they are coming from and going to. The evidence overwhelmingly supports the notions that migrants are motivated by noneconomic, nonemployment considerations; no more than a fourth of the metro migrants have moved for employment reasons, thus confirming what has been widely speculated on--that they are moving for



a variety of social and environmental reasons. They are not simply moving to next-door counties, but are changing jobs as well as residences; less than one in ten moved to a neighboring county and a similar portion retained their former employment after moving. Finally, they are indeed moving to the more rural residences, with more than 80 percent in or near towns with less than 5,000 population, and about two-thirds residing in close proximity to, but outside, the corporate limits of these places.

Nonemployment considerations are also instrumental in the decision making process of destination selection. If the metro migrants' destination choices were to be characterized by a single factor, it would have to be "ties in the area" to which they moved.

Another conception of the trend which we have been able to document is that the metro migrants are largely coming from the cities of the metropolitan areas rather than from the suburban or fringe portions. Slightly over 60 percent were living inside central cities of 50,000 or more population before moving. Most, however, were not lifelong residents of the cities they came from, or of cities generally. About four out of five of the metro migrants had a history of prior moves before migrating to our sample counties. At least three out of five metro migrants had lived in small towns or rural areas at some point in their lives, and in this sense could be viewed as "going back" to a type of residence they experienced previously in their lives.

Who, then, are the metro-nonmetro migrants? Clearly, the tone of the text so far has been toward describing who they are not. Perhaps the most appropriate description is that they are a widely varying segment of the population which defies stereotyping and quick-and-easy characterizations. Roughly equal proportions are older, middle-aged, and young; some are college educated but most are not; they represent a wide range of incomes, not particularly wealthy, but not indigent, either. They are arriving almost entirely in family units. Unemployment among migrants was negligible



in the prior residence; they are in both blue-collar and white-collar occupations and most end up in the same types of occupations that they had prior to moving. In terms of income, they neither sacrifice a lot, nor get rich as a result of the move. They represent a broad cross-section of the population, a fact which has to be considered when discussing the continuation of the trend.

### SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

The following section presents data for all three sample groups on a variety of sociodemographic measures. It will permit a comparison of metro migrants with migrants of nonmetro origin and with residents in the sample areas, and since many of the findings reported in subsequent chapters vary by sample it will provide a background for interpreting and understanding much of the data as well. In several instances background differences have dictated the need for controls and suggested specific types of analytic comparisons. The differences are also important in another respect; to those who are concerned with the more applied perspectives of the new migration the differences are suggestive of the distinctive needs which may be associated with certain subgroups.

Background differences among the sample groups will be particularly important referents in the portion of the research which examines the potential impact of the rural renaissance. Much of the impact which has been alluded to in writings on the new migration has been tied to the differences which are presumed to exist between migrants and residents of nonmetropolitan areas. In turn personal and socioeconomic differences have been extrapolated to encompass a host of social psychological differences--in values, attitudes, preferences and tastes, which are assumed to translate into demands and



behaviors which may be at odds with those of residents. All of this has given rise to a rather pessimistic stance on the new migration's impact. However, equally facile assumptions are made among those approaching the impact issue from the perspective that the trend represents more of a benefit than a burden. Again the starting point is the assumed differences between migrants and residents. The data in the following section will not explore the entire sequence of linkages outlined above. They will be discussed at various points in the text.

### Age

Considerable age differences exist among the sample groups (cf. Figure 1.1). The age distributions are quite different for the two migrant samples, and overall the tabulations show the migrants to be younger than the residents. These differences are consistent with recent aggregate data on the age composition of migrants to nonmetropolitan areas when compared to nonmetropolitan nonmigrants (Zuiches and Brown, 1978), and with the general migration literature which has consistently documented an inverse relationship between age and migration propensity. The

(36% versus 26%)

inmigrants from metropolitan areas have a higher proportion/of the sample in the 55 and over age groups than the nonmetro migrants, suggesting a higher proportion either at or near retirement. The nonmetropolitan migrants are, on the average, a younger group, with the highest proportions of all three groups under age 35 (43%). From the residents' point of view, however, both groups of inmigrants are much younger, lending some credence to suggestions that an influx of younger people into rural areas could mean renewed economic and social vitality. Retirement-related migration is certainly in evidence but it is considerably offset by gains in population at



younger ages and, thus, at a regional level does not by itself threaten to further skew the age composition of the nonmetropolitan midwest toward the aged.

[Figure 1.1 about here]

#### Household Composition and Family Status

With regard to marital status, it is evident in Table 1.1 that most of the migrants and residents are married. The range across the three groups is 79-81 percent married. As would be expected from the age data, residents showed the highest proportion widowed (about 15%) with the migrant groups each having about 8 percent widowed.

[Table 1.1 about here]

Data presented in Table 1.1 demonstrate a remarkable similarity in household composition between the migrant groups, and between the migrants and residents. Married couples with children are the modal household type in all three groups of respondents, and between them and husband-wife-only families they account for close to 80 percent of the households. The residents have fewer households with children, and slightly more single individual households and households with a variety of alternative arrangements. Many of these differences are accounted for by the age differences between residents and migrants. We also observed virtually identical average household sizes among the three groups, ranging only from 2.8 members for residents to 2.9 members for the two migrant groups. There are, however, differences with regard to the age of children in the households; less than a third of the resident households have children under 6 years of age compared to 41 percent for the metro migrant households and 55 percent of the nonmetro migrant households. On most of these family and household composition items the metro migrants do not seem to stand out, and they do not have the larger



### Figure 1.1 Age Composition of Respondent Groups.

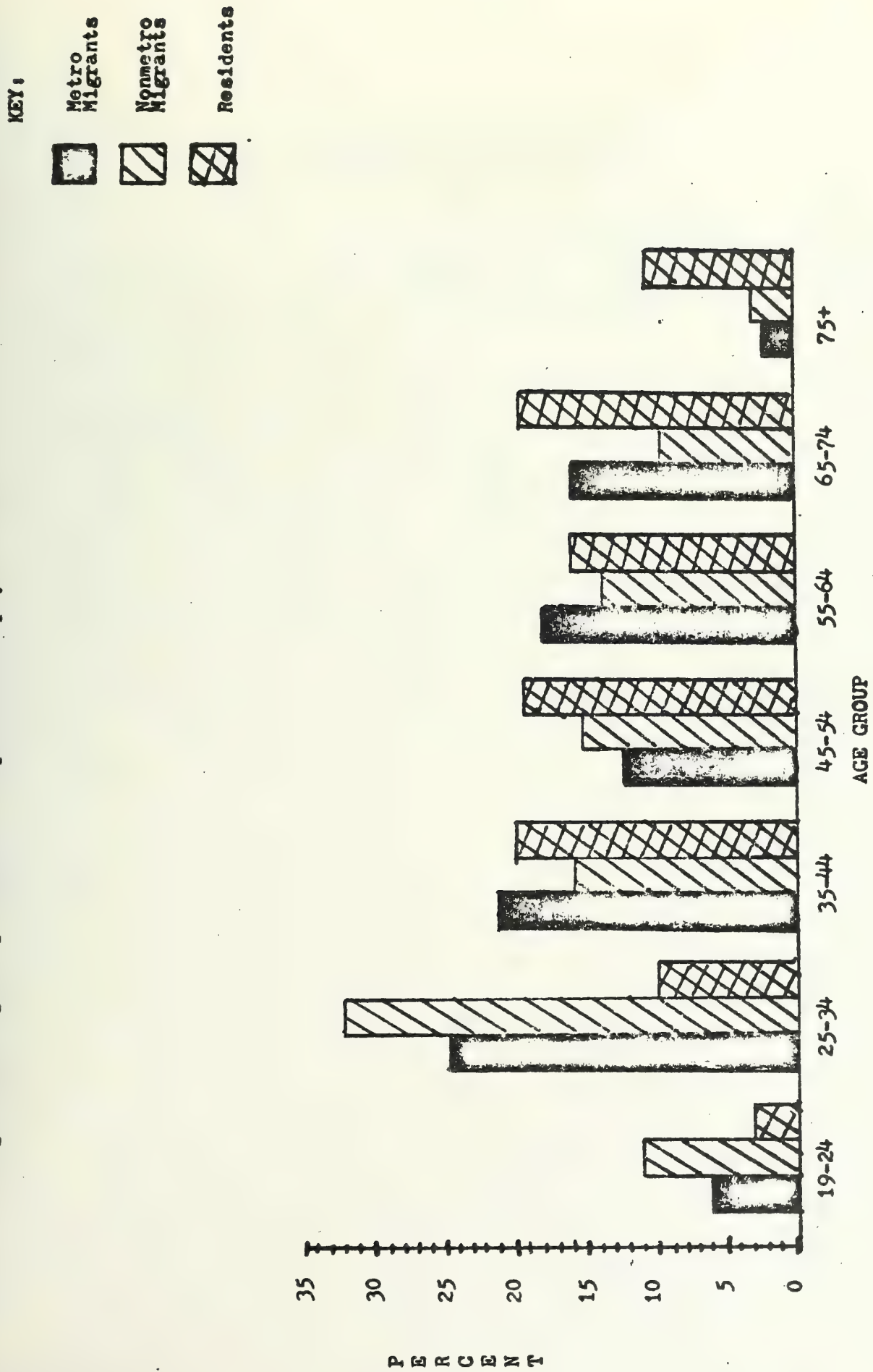




Table 1.1 Household Composition of Respondent Groups

Household type	Respondent group					
	Metro migrant		Nonmetro migrant		Resident	
	- - - -		percent		- - - - -	
Primary individual only	12		12		14	
Husband-wife only	33		30		34	
Married couples with children only:	46	100	46	100	41	100
with 1 child		31		32		29
with 2 children		35		38		36
with 3 or more children		34		30		35
Respondent with children only	4		5		4	
Other household arrangements	5		7		7	
Base N	501		208		426	



families which others have pointed out as a characteristic of households moving in a nonmetropolitan direction. Nor is there much evidence of an influx of single-parent households. The typical migrant household consists of married couples, most with children, much like the pattern for the U.S. adult population as a whole.

#### Socioeconomic Status

Most of our data can be presented without regard for whether the respondent is the actual head of the household, especially where data from either a head of household or a spouse may equally well index some household level characteristic, such as household composition. However, in our discussions of the three measures of socioeconomic status--education, employment status (income is considered in greater detail in Chapter 4)--and occupation/the data are presented separately for all females and males, regardless of whether they were respondents or spouses. The totals upon which percentages are based, then are larger than the actual numbers of interviews.

In Figure 1.2 we see that migrants are bringing with them considerably higher levels of formal education. Over one-third of the males in each migrant group have completed at least some college, in contrast to the resident



males among whom 17 percent have attended college. To some extent, this difference is certain to reflect the age differences between the groups since younger people, in general, tend to have higher levels of education than older persons. The two migrant groups, however, show quite similar distributions. Thus, regardless of origin, immigrants are contributing to the educational levels of these growing nonmetro counties.

[Figure 1.2 about here]

Turning to employment status, we see that the metropolitan migrant inflow contains a sizable number of retired persons, accounting for 32 percent of all male in metro migrant household heads (Table 1.3). This is consistent with current knowledge about the contribution of retirement to population turnaround in nonmetropolitan areas (Beale, 1978). As a result, male immigrants from metro counties have the lowest level of full-time employment among the males of all three groups (60% as compared to 69% for nonmetro male immigrants and 65% for male residents). These findings are also consistent with earlier demonstrated age differences among the groups. The youngest sample group, the migrants from other nonmetropolitan areas, shows for both males and females, the highest level of full-time labor force participation for both males and females.

[Table 1.3 about here]

We categorized all employed migrants and residents as either blue-collar, lower white-collar, or upper white-collar according to a classification scheme developed by Brown (1978). It permits us to obtain a gross measure of the types of occupations migrants and residents were employed in at the time of the survey (Table 1.3). A more detailed occupational breakdown, by sex, is presented in Figure 1.3 for males and females separately.



Figure 1.2 Educational Attainment by Respondent Group and Sex.

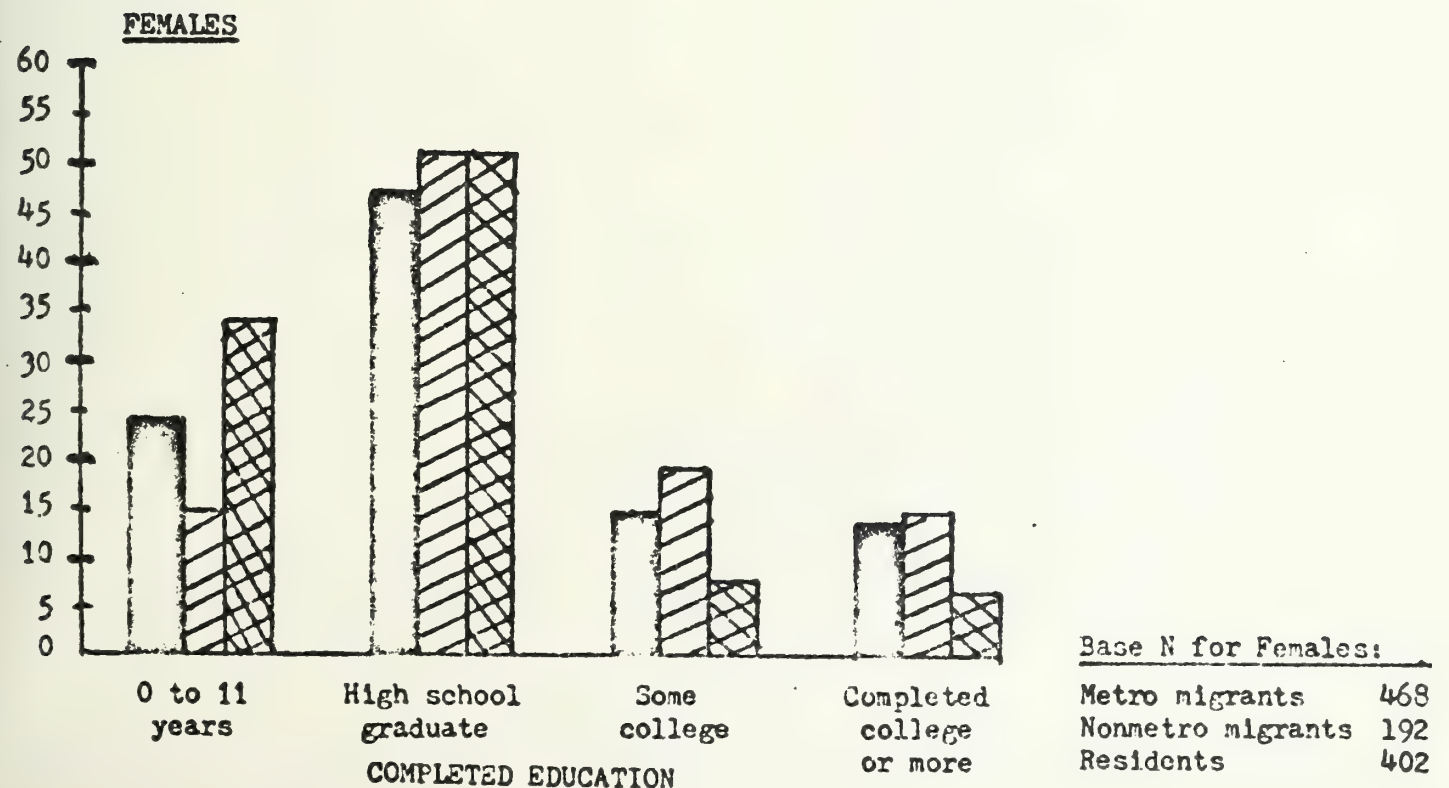
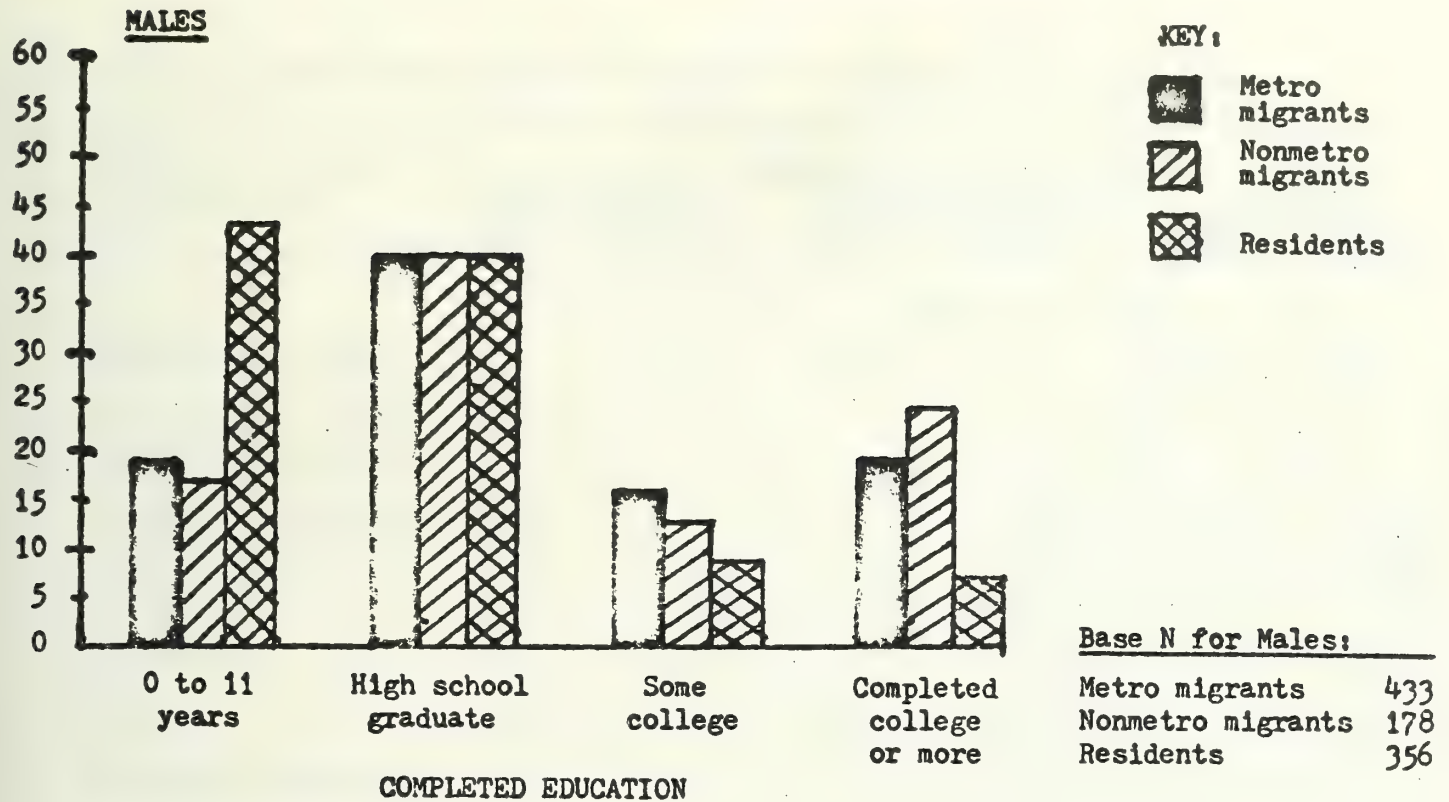




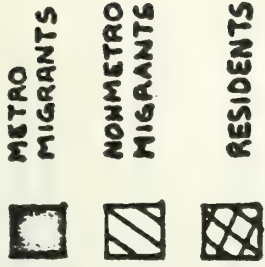
Table 1.3 Employment Status and Occupation by Respondent Group and Sex.

Employment status and occupation	Respondent group and sex					
	Metro migrants		Nonmetro migrants		Residents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	----- Percent -----					
Employed full time	60	23	69	35	65	22
Occupations of those employed full time:						
--upper white collar	43	41	54	38	38	26
--lower white collar	34	36	30	32	35	48
--blue collar	23	23	16	30	27	26
Employed part time	4	12	3	12	3	13
Retired	32	18	20	10	27	24
Temporarily unemployed	2	3	4	2	2	-
Not employed, not looking for work	2	44	4	41	3	41
Base N	435	473	179	194	355	403

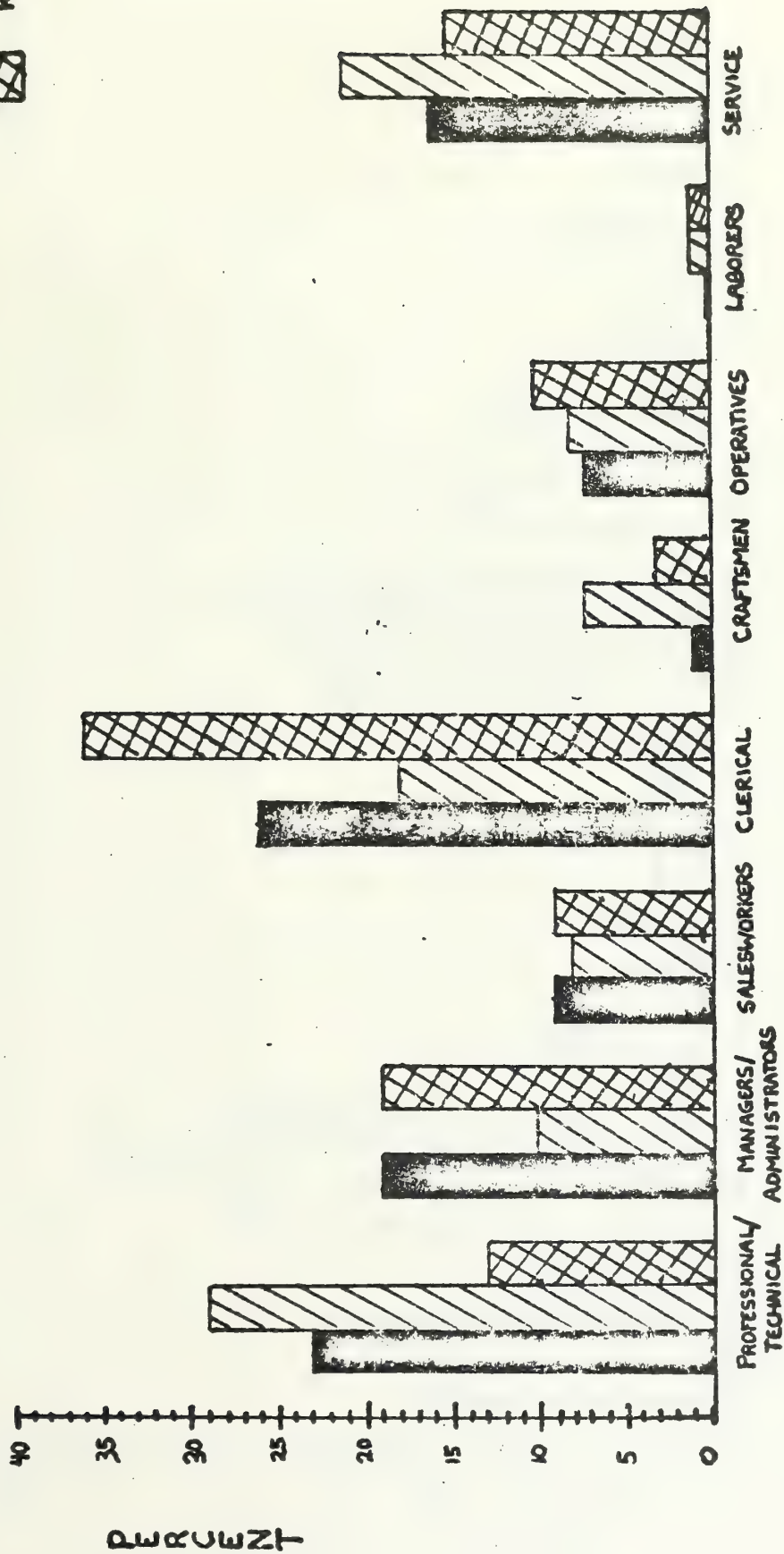


Figure 1.3 Occupation of Those Employed, by Respondent Group and Sex.

KEY:



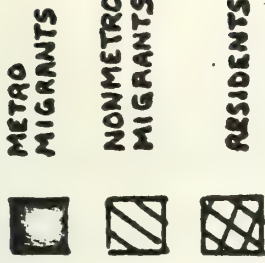
# Females



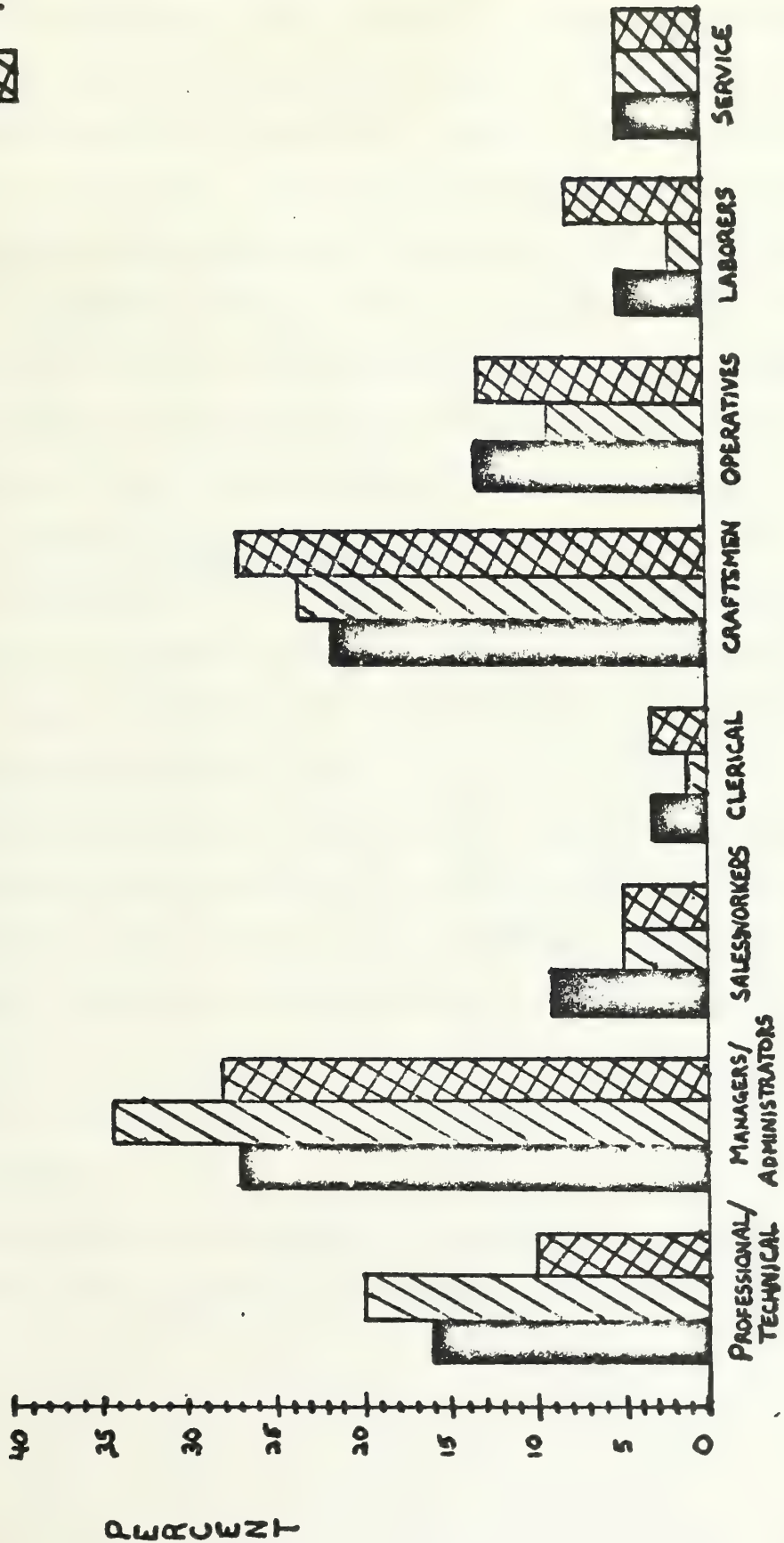
# OCCUPATION..



KEY:



Males



OCCUPATION

Figure 1.3 (con'd.)



For males and females employed full time, the data in Table 1.4 indicate that both types of migrants are more likely to be employed in upper white collar occupations than are residents, and among males the nonmetro migrants have the lowest proportion in blue-collar occupations (16%) and residents the highest (27%). On all three occupational comparisons the metro males are the interstitial group, being much closer, occupationally, to the residents than to the nonmetro migrants. Female residents, like resident males, tend to be more lower white collar and blue-collar than the migrants. Migrants have a much higher proportion in the upper-white collar occupation (Table 1.3). Thus, both male and female migrants seem to be an occupational asset to non-metropolitan, high net immigration areas of the midwest.

[Figure 1.3 about here]

Though not presented here (see Chapter 4), data on total family income in 1976 for the three groups is consistent with the data presented so far. A majority of migrant households (51% for the metro migrants and 55% for the nonmetro) earn more than \$10,000 a year.

In summary, we find that for each dimension of socioeconomic status presented the immigrants are an asset to the destination area, at least when they are compared to area residents. They are younger, better educated, are more upper white collar, and have higher incomes. Certainly local variations exist, but for the region the suggested direction of compositional change would seem to be in the direction of socioeconomic upgrading.

#### Duration of Residence

The final background characteristic to be considered is duration of residence, an important indicator of the potential for integration and



adaptation to the new environment for immigrants, and for all groups, an indicator of migrational stability. As has been shown in other studies, the principle of cumulative inertia in migration suggests that the longer a person stays in one area, the less likely a person is to move from the area. The information obtained from the interview schedule does not allow an exact allocation of years spent in the current area for all residents. Thus, the classification scheme in Table 1.4 only provides a rough idea of the stability of the resident population. It should be remembered that, according to the design of the study, immigrants were defined as those who have moved in after 1970, while residents were defined in terms of having lived in their county continuously since 1970. We see in Table 1.4 that on the average nonmetro migrants have a shorter duration of residence than do metro migrants. The distributions of duration of residence for the two groups do not, in themselves, tell us anything about the trend of immigration for the two groups since the distributions are / both the timing of immigration and the proportions of immigrants who may have outmigrated before the study period. Thus, the shorter average duration of residence for nonmetro immigrants could reflect both an acceleration of immigration from other nonmetropolitan areas in recent years, and a higher proportion of earlier immigrants who subsequently outmigrated.

[Table 1.4 about here]

The data suggest that the residents are a very migrational stable population, with over a third having lived nowhere else during their lifetime and 78 percent having lived in the county continuously since 1960. The data on duration of residence establish that, first, the resident sample consists mainly of long-term residents of the area, and in that sense it is a true resident sample. And, second, the data establish that the metro migrant sample, as a whole, is made up



Table 1.4 Duration of Residence by Respondent Group

Date of most recent immigration or duration of residence	Respondent group		
	Metro migrant	Nonmetro migrant	Resident
	- - - - percent - - - -		
1974-77	47	59	--
1970-1973	53	41	--
1960-1970	--	--	22
Moved in prior to 1960 but date unknown	--	--	42
Lived entire life in current area	--	--	36
Base N	500	207	425



of individuals and households which have been living in the current area of residence for a longer period of time/ than the nonmetro migrants. This is a factor which should be taken into account in later discussions of differences between the two migrant types.

#### SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Migration research has consistently demonstrated that in long distance moves there is a selectivity toward younger, higher status individuals and households. Recent surveys of migrants moving in a nonmetropolitan direction (DeJong and Humphrey, 1976; Mitchell, 1975) show this generalization to be true for that particular stream as well. The data presented here are, in general, consistent with these other surveys, and with census data on the characteristics of migrants and nonmovers. We have shown, as have others, that the migrants into nonmetropolitan areas are on the average better educated, of higher incomes and occupational levels, and they have a higher incidence of households with young children/ than residents. We have shown, however, that many of these differences can be explained in terms of the age difference between migrants and residents. of what explains the differences, it is clear that Regardless/ nonmetro areas are experiencing an influx of relatively younger, higher status individuals and households. The immigrants originating in nonmetro areas are not identical to those from metro areas, and are more different from the residents than are the metro migrants.

We have documented several other differences which are either minor or inconsistent with what was expected. For example, all three groups are similar on family size, and, for the most part, employment status data show few differences across the sample groups. We did not expect, however, that there would be lower labor force participation among the metro-migrant males



than among the resident males, especially since it has been argued and demonstrated that migrants frequently have higher levels of participation in the labor force (Zimmer, 1955) than nonmigrants or residents. Our data may be consistent with the higher incidence of retirement among the metro migrant males, but not with the age differences among the samples. For some reason the resident males, even though they are older, have higher employment levels than the metro migrants. This difference may well reflect a higher level of self-employment among nonmetro males or a less rigid adherence to retirement age by employers.

Considerable speculation about the eventual transformation of rural America has emerged from comparisons between immigrants and residents. Any generalizations based on the present data would permit only a partial view of the overall compositional changes which are occurring in rural areas as a result of metro immigration. A complete assessment of the net effects of migration on rural areas would, by necessity, have to take into account the characteristics of the different immigrant streams as well as the characteristics of outmigrants. In the present research we have been able to address the questions of whether the immigrant streams, metro and nonmetro, into the sample counties are made up of households and individuals who are different from the residents of those counties, and if they are, in what ways. Since there is no comparable sample of rural outmigrants, no precise estimates of overall demographic change will be possible. The comparisons permit us to look at the possible changes being introduced by two segments of the immigrant stream, but not at the changes resulting from outmigration from the sampled nonmetro areas.



Recent aggregate analysis has made considerable progress on addressing the question of compositional change at the national level. That research, using secondary migration data for the nation as a whole, demonstrates that metro to nonmetro migrants are younger, better educated, and likely to have higher occupational status than nonmetropolitan residents. Outmigrants from nonmetro areas are, in turn, more like the immigrants than the residents, or nonmovers (Zuiches and Brown, 1978). However, detailed regional analyses have yet to be undertaken and much more survey research has to be conducted to provide insights in the new trend, beyond what can be inferred from selected migrant and nonmover characteristics at the national level. The present data set provides the opportunity for exploring questions which go beyond demographic comparisons and which can only be addressed with survey data.



## Chapter II

### ORIGINS AND DESTINATIONS OF MIGRANTS

Andrew J. Sofranko, Frederick C. Fliegel and James D. Williams

Little is known specifically about the origins and destinations of metropolitan migrants: how far they move, the types of places they are leaving, and the types of places and residences they are choosing in non-metropolitan destinations. All that is known of the new migration trend is that, at a general level, more rural areas are growing faster than urban areas. However, various types of residential shift could be involved. The popular conception is that the migrant stream originates in large cities and relocates in small places and the countryside. Clearly, most metropolitan migrants are moving to smaller places, but, conceivably, some are moving to places of comparable size, and perhaps in a few cases even to larger places.

Another of the more popular conceptions of the dramatic turnaround in growth of rural areas is that it reflects a widespread desire to get "back to the land" in the forms of farm and country living. Case studies of families who have traded "apartments for farms" and open country living have provided the essential documentation for this view, and the media and opinion polls demonstrating a widespread desire to move to rural areas have done much to promote it. Obviously, some recent migrants are engaged in farming, living on farms if not farming, and living in the countryside. There is, however, scant knowledge of whether farm and country living are an isolated or widespread phenomenon among recent migrants.

This chapter presents data on migrants' places of origin and destination. The first part focuses on where the migrants originated, whether



within or outside the current state of residence, and whether they moved from adjacent or nonadjacent counties. These measures will permit at least an approximate determination of the distance the migrants have moved. We will then examine the sizes of the places of origin and destination. These data will permit us to examine just how much in the way of a residential, size-of-place change has been involved in the moves. We will establish the proportions of metro migrants moving from and to places of various sizes, and the relationship, if any, between the size of the place migrants left and the size of the places in which they relocated. Finally, we will attempt to pinpoint / a little more fully the residential distribution of migrants within rural areas by delineating destinations on the basis of whether they are within or outside the corporate limits of a community. For those residing outside the corporate limits, we will establish whether they are farm or open country non-farm residents. In the process we hope to address the question of just how many, and who, among the migrants are going "back to the land".

In the above analyses on origins and destinations metropolitan migrants will be compared with the nonmetro migrant subsample, and on the residential distribution part of the analysis they will be compared with the resident sample as well. These will provide the base against which we can evaluate the uniqueness of metropolitan migrants.

#### HOW FAR HAVE MIGRANTS MOVED?

A frequently expressed concern about the population turnaround is that it may be no more than an aspect of the suburbanization phenomenon, that is, merely a product of further and continued residential decentralization. This "adjacency effect" which is often alluded to suggests that many people are simply moving across county lines into nonmetropolitan



counties and in the process being defined as part of the rural migration trend. In effect, it is argued <sup>that</sup> /much of the trend may be blamed on record-keeping and boundary-drawing procedures. This line of reasoning finds some support in residential preference surveys showing that while small town and rural residences are highly desirable, close proximity to a large, urban place is also highly preferred. (Zuiches and Fuguitt, 1976). Thus, there is some basis for speculating that many of the so-called urban-to-rural moves are, in effect, short distance moves into counties adjacent to the county of origin.

Contrary evidence would suggest, however, that the trend involves more than urban decentralization as evidenced by the immigration rates in nonadjacent counties. The evidence which documents and verifies this trend at the national level, though, may not be very convincing at a more micro-level where some of the strong pull factors associated with amenities in the more distant nonmetropolitan areas may not be operating. Thus, at a more micro, regional level the trend may consist largely of short distance moves, if not to a nearby county, then at least within the same state. Clearly, how far migrants have moved is an important issue, whether addressing the types of research questions we have raised, or addressing the policy implications of the turnaround.

Assessing how far migrants move is difficult. Our earlier attempts <sup>the they</sup> to have migrants report /distance/moved resulted in widely varying estimates--even between identical points of origin and destination. For this reason, we have relied on two objective measures of distance: first, the location of the destination county--whether adjacent or nonadjacent to the county of origin, and, second, the location of origin--whether migrants originated within the same state, outside the state but within the region, or outside the region.



Destination Location:

The data on destination locations for the urban-to-rural migrants in the survey disconfirm any notions of a super-suburbanization phenomenon. Only 8 percent have moved to a county adjacent to the county of their former residence, suggesting that by and large the new migration, in the North Central Region at least, consists of more than short-distance moves (Table 2:1). By comparison, the nonmetro migrants are much more oriented toward short-distance moves; nearly half (47%) of this particular sample of migrants is made up of individuals who have simply moved to an adjoining county.

[Table 2.1 about here]

Location of Origin

While the metro migrants are certainly not moving to counties next door, a good portion (62%) has moved within the state (Table 2.1). Still, a much higher proportion (78%) of the nonmetro movers moved within the state in which they were living, which is consistent with the data reporting their high incidence of moves to nearby, adjacent counties. As to where the interstate metropolitan migrants originated, we can indicate only that they came mostly from other states in the North Central Region--almost two-thirds of those crossing state lines came from within the Region. The remainder--about 14 percent of the total sample--came from metropolitan areas outside the region, and not from any one region in particular. The nonmetro migrants, who are shorter distance movers than the metro migrants, are as likely to come from outside the region as from within it--if they are not intra-state movers. More than half (53%) of the interstate nonmetro movers come from counties beyond the region, and primarily from the Western states.

On the basis of these data the metropolitan migrant sample can be characterized as consisting of proportionally few local or very long-



Table 2:1 Location of Origin and Destination Counties, by Migrant Type

	<u>Metro migrants</u>		<u>Nonmetro migrants</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Destination location</u>				
In an adjacent county	41	8	97	47
In a nonadjacent county	459	92	111	53
Total	500	100	208	100
<u>Location of origin</u>				
Within state	310	62	163	78
Outside state				
Within region	119	24	21	10
Outside region	72	14	24	12
Total	501	100	208	100



distance movers, with a slight majority of the movers coming from within the State. The nonmetro immigrants, though, do not fit this pattern. They are moving, by and large, from one nonmetropolitan county to another within state.

#### SIZES OF PLACES OF ORIGIN AND DESTINATION

<sup>They are</sup> As defined, metropolitan areas contain not only cities and suburbs but also open countryside and small towns as well. The distinguishing feature of these more rural portions of the metropolitan area is their proximity to a city of 50,000 or more. Conceivably, some portion of the metro-nonmetro migrant stream is originating not in the city or suburban portions of the metropolitan areas, as popular conceptions tend to characterize it, but in the more rural portions of metropolitan areas. It may be one of the major misperceptions of the trend to suggest that it is made up entirely of individuals "fleeing the city" or the suburbs.

The size of place of origin, based on 1970 population data, was coded for each migrant. The distributions on this measure, presented in Table 2 2, provide sufficient evidence to satisfy both the proponents of "flight from the city" arguments and those arguing for a more general outmigration from highly urbanized areas. A little more than a third (34%)

of the metro migrants came from large cities, and all together more than 60% came from metropolitan cities (over 50,000). Some did, however, move from smaller places within the metro area. Overall, a little more than a third (38%) of the metro migrants actually originated in places no larger than those from which the sample of nonmetro migrants came, the difference being only that of proximity to a large urban center. About 11% actually originated in small towns and villages in



the metro area, which, incidentally, residential preference surveys have shown to be the ideal desired type of residence--in a small town but close to a city.  
[Table 2.2 about here]

By definition, the nonmetropolitan migrants originate in different types of places than the metropolitan migrants, and for that reason we cannot compare the two sample distributions on size of former place of residence. We can point out only that most (67%) of the nonmetro migrants lived formerly in small and medium sized towns. Relatively fewer came from either villages or large towns (Table 2:2).

The size of current place of residence was also coded for each respondent so that we might be able to establish the types of places in which migrants were relocating. It should be pointed out that in the following discussion references to the types of places identified in table 2.2 are not meant to imply that all migrants are living in these places. It might be more accurate to suggest that they live in or near these places. Later in the chapter we will look at what portions of the migrants are actually living outside the corporate limits of their current place of residence.

Turning to places of destination, we see again in Table 2.2 that almost half (47%) of the metro migrants are living in or near small villages; over 80% are in places with less than 5,000 population. A comparison of the distributions on origin and destination show that more than a shift to a slightly smaller place is involved in the new migration turnaround. There is no evidence that former city dwellers have chosen those places which one would assume to be most similar to the types of places they left behind, that is, <sup>to</sup> large towns in nonmetro areas. The shift is clearly into the smallest places. The same type of shift is involved among the nonmetro movers, for whom we see movement down a size-of-place hierarchy. Comparing distributions on the former and current residences, we see a substantial reduction in proportions



Table 2:2. Distribution of Migrants by Size of Place in Origin and Destination Locations, and Distribution of Residents by Current Size of Place

Size of place	Respondent Group				
	Metro migrants	Nonmetro migrants	Metro migrants	Nonmetro migrants	Residents
	Origin	Desti- nation	Origin	Desti- nation	Current place of residence
	Percent				
Village (less than 1,000)	1	47	20	39	44
Small town (1,000 to 4,999)	10	37	34	36	36
Medium size town (5,000 to 24,999)	16	16	33	22	18
Large town (25,000 to 49,000)	11	-	13	3	2
Small city (50,000 to 249,000)	28	--	--	--	--
Large city (250,000 and over)	34	--	--	--	--
Total	100	100	100	100	100



living in the two largest size-of-place categories, and a doubling of the proportion living in villages.

In terms of current place of residence, both samples of migrants can thus be described as village and small town residents. They are so dominantly village and small town that a cross-tabulation of size of place of origin with size of place of destination, which was intended to determine whether former residence is a predisposing factor in destination selection, yielded the obvious. Regardless of the size of place migrants came from, the modal category for their current residence was the village. A similar pattern holds for the nonmetro migrants.

It might also be pointed out that, in terms of size of place distributions, the two migrant samples are quite comparable to the residents in the survey (table 2:2). The importance of this comparability will become more obvious later in the research when the three samples are compared on various measures for which the size of place of residence may be an important consideration.

#### RESIDENTIAL LOCATION IN RURAL DESTINATIONS

We attempted to further specify the types of residential locations in which migrants have settled. The following discussion utilizes several questions in the survey which asked if respondents were currently living within or outside the corporate limits of their present places of residence, and whether or not they were living on a farm or ranch. Additional questions, which were tailored to the agricultural census definition of a farm, were asked of those who indicated farm residence. Responses on questions pertaining to acreage and farm sales permit us to provide more substance to the notion of farm living, and to address the general question of whether metropolitan migrants are "returning to the land"--to an agricultural way of life.



This is a theme which crops up with considerable frequency in discussions of the new migration trend.

Two-thirds (66%) of the sample of metro migrants have chosen to live outside the corporate limits of any town or village in the growth counties under study (see Table 2:3). This compares with 56 percent of our sample of long term residents and only 54 percent of nonmetro migrants (data not shown in Table 2:3) living outside incorporated places. Metro migrants in the region are, then, more rural in their residence patterns than the other sampled populations and this serves to underscore the back to the land notion as a possible explanatory theme. Most of the country dwellers are rural in only a technical sense, however, as we will demonstrate later.

[Table 2.3 about here]

#### Evidence for a "Back to the Land" Movement

It is a fact, as we shall observe later, that metro migrants are moving for amenity reasons to a greater extent than has been the case in recent decades, and it is tempting to characterize those amenities in terms of ties to the land as well as open space and outdoor recreation. Newspaper accounts of urbanites establishing small farms serve to highlight the back to the land theme as well, and it is true that fully two-thirds of the present sample of metro migrants have chosen to settle outside the corporate limits of any town or village.

In the present section we will briefly explore the "back to the land" theme as a possible explanation of the new migration. We will show, in general, that land ownership, and agricultural utilization of that land, is quite important for some metro migrants, but for only a few. For the majority, living in the country seems to have an appeal for residential purposes, but being near a town for jobs, shopping, and services is probably more important than ties to the land as such.



Table 2:3. Location of Dwelling for Metro Migrant and Rural Resident Households

Location	Metro migrant (N = 476)	Resident (N = 410)
	.....Percent.....	
Within corporate limits	34	44
Outside corporate limits	66	56
Total	100	100
For households outside corporate limits only:		
Open country nonfarm	71	47
On a farm (but not farming)	20	30
On a farm (and farming)	9	23
Total	100	100



Physically returning to a former place of residence will be explored separately as a possible explanatory theme for the new migration in a later chapter. Here we will be discussing the more symbolic aspects of "going back" to a more agrarian way of life. In order to organize the material we have divided those metro migrants who live outside the limits of incorporated places into three categories: 1) open country nonfarm residents; 2) farm residents who do not farm; and 3) farm residents who sell some farm products. These groupings, arrayed in order of increasing involvement with land, will be compared with each other on several characteristics, and also with the metropolitan migrants living in town and long term residents to some extent. All comparisons are based on data for households and household heads rather than the particular respondent who happened to be interviewed.

Open Country Nonfarm Residents of Metro Origin: Seventy-one percent of those metro migrants who live in the open country are not living on farms, as shown in the lower half of Table 2:3. In contrast, over half (53%) of the country dwelling long-term residents live on farms. The distinction between farm and nonfarm residence alone, then, forces one to conclude that the "back to the land" theme, at least in a literal sense, is of little importance for most metro migrant households. In comparison with long-term residents, they can be described as favoring the countryside, but not the farm.

Furthermore, almost 60 percent of the open country nonfarm households of metro origin live within 5 miles or less of the center of the nearest town and 50 percent are within 10 minutes driving time of their place of employment. The bulk of the metro origin open country residents are thus clustered near towns, and in terms of standard socioeconomic measures they are no different from the metro migrants who chose to live in town. Both groups, however, are quite different from the long-term residents, who tend to be older, less educated, and more blue collar, occupationally.



Turning more explicitly to the "back to the land" theme, there is little evidence of either returning to anything, or nostalgia regarding such a return among the open country nonfarm residents. They are less likely than metro migrants living in town to have grown up on a farm (26% as compared with 32%), and less likely to have lived in the area before (26% versus 37% for household heads, with very similar percentages for spouses). Metro migrants who choose to live in open country, nonfarm settings are also highly favorable to population growth and economic development. They are clearly not attempting to settle in an area and then protect it from further growth. In short, there is no evidence in these data that they are "going back" in the sense of trying to recreate a pastoral life style which may have characterized some former generation.

Farm residents of metro origin who do not farm: Living in the country, for some portion of our sample of metro migrants, means living on a farm, but not necessarily engaging in agricultural production. We noted earlier that 71 percent of metro migrants living outside incorporated places are in an open country nonfarm setting. Of the remaining 29 percent, the balance of the country dwellers, about two out of three claim farm residence but do not engage in farming (Table 2:3). Families in the metro origin farm-as-residence category possess significant amounts of land. About half of all households have holdings of less than 25 acres, but as many as 15 percent are holding 150 acres or more. The land, though, is not being farmed.

Metro migrants who choose to live on a farm for residential purposes only are sharply different from other metro migrants in a variety of respects. They are dominantly in blue collar and service occupations (76%) which contrasts sharply with the rest of the metro migrant sample (39% blue collar and service). With respect to occupation, the farm-as-residence migrants are much more like country -dwelling residents than other metro migrants. Similarly, with respect to education,



they typically have no more than a high school education (84%) again much like the long term residents and unlike metro migrants as a whole. They might be described as blue-collar exurbanites, but they do not seem to be going "back to the land" in a literal sense.

A distinctive characteristic of the farm-as-residence households is the incidence of experience with living on a farm. Two thirds (67 %) have lived on a farm previously; 26 percent grew up on a farm, and the balance have lived on a farm at some later point in their lives. Households in the metro origin farm-as-residence category are thus substantially opting for life in the country as a continuation of something they have known before, rather than making a radical shift from life in the metropolis to a farm residence.

How does the above description of the farm-as-residence category of metro migrants relate to the back to the land question? They have invested in land and are thus by definition more oriented to the land than the other migrant categories, most of them have prior experience with country life, but they are, by definition, not pursuing an agricultural way of life.

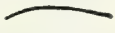
Metro migrants as farmers: Finally, there is a small but interesting group of metro origin households engaged in agriculture. They make up 9 percent of the metro origin country dwellers (see Table 2.3) and 6 percent of the metro migrant sample as a whole. They are of interest because over half of them (53 %) have no prior farm experience and are thus going back to the land in the sense of returning to something their forebears may have known. The balance are going back in a different sense; they have lived on a farm before, mostly in their early years, and they are now taking up farming again.



Except for the involvement with agriculture, which for most of the heads of households considered here is definitely a secondary occupation, their characteristics are much like those of <sup>the metro</sup>origin town or open country dwellers. Their principal occupations tend to be <sup>in</sup>the white collar category, they are relatively well educated, they even average somewhat higher <sup>all</sup>in family income than the average for/metro migrants.

They are rather different, though, from the long term resident sample, and especially the farm portion of that sample. Part-time farming is the norm for all farmers in our samples, but the metro origin farmers have smaller farms than those of long term residents and are substantially more likely to be younger, better educated and hold white collar off-farm jobs than long term resident farmers. Our immediate point is that a moderate influx of metro origin farmers is occurring in the growth counties under study, and they are in many respects different from farmers in the area.

#### SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The data in the chapter provide a fairly comprehensive overview of the types and locations of places migrants left and joined, and of the residential changes their moves entailed. In summary, we have shown that the metropolitan migrants are not local movers simply moving in a more metropolitan direction. Relatively few are moving into nearby counties. They differ in that respect from the nonmetro movers, a good portion of whom are, by our criterion, short-distance movers. A majority of both samples  are intra-state migrants.

We have shown also that there is considerable variability in the types of places the metro migrants left. Clearly a majority of the metropolitan migrants left cities and other large urban places, but a small



portion originated in the more rural portions of the metropolitan area. We have pointed out that this finding is at odds with the expressed preferences of many in polls for small town living near a large city, in effect combining the best of both types of residence. One cannot easily argue that the metropolitan migrants are a homogeneous stream with respect to size of place of origin; certainly not all are fleeing large cities. Perhaps they could be described more accurately as fleeing the metropolitan area, if they are fleeing at all.

There is not much evidence that the migrants are homogeneous with respect to the size of places/they are locating, <sup>in which</sup> either. They are settling in different sized places, though mostly in villages and small towns. Nor is there much evidence to suggest that the metro migrant stream can be characterized as moving down a size-of-place hierarchy. For most movers there is a large disjuncture between the size of the place of origin and the size of the place of destination.

We have also shown that with respect to residential location, metropolitan migrants, in contrast to nonmetropolitan migrants, <sup>have</sup> and, in contrast to residents, opted for more rural residences, / much larger portions of metropolitan migrants live outside the corporate limits of a village or town. Our brief digression into <sup>whether</sup> the penchant for rural living constituted a back-to-the-land movement produced evidence that only about 6 percent of our entire metro migrant sample could be characterized as fitting the "back to the land" theme. These households are not only a small fraction of the total migrant stream but are too few in number to permit much generalization. Nevertheless, we feel strongly that they can provide a clearer perspective on urbanites' involvement in agriculture than the purely anecdotal accounts available thus far.



It is clear that the nonagricultural aspects of living in the country are the major attractions for migrants from metropolitan areas in the North Central region. The appeal of the land, and active utilization of the land for agricultural production, can be described as a minor sub-theme within the larger theme of life in the country or small town which attracts metropolitan migrants. Nevertheless, even a partial offsetting of the very substantial movement out of agriculture which has been going on for decades should not just be ignored. Going back to the land may not appeal to many in metropolitan areas, but the migration of even a few can have substantial consequences for thinly populated rural areas.



### Chapter III

#### MOTIVATIONS AND MIGRATION DECISIONS Andrew J. Sofranko and James D. Williams

The basic question being raised about the current population turnaround concerns the motivations of metro-nonmetro migrants which underlie their decision to move and their location decision. A bewildering variety of explanations has been advanced to account for leaving metro areas, ranging from a deterioration in the quality of urban life, rejection of urban lifestyles, and a desire to get "back to the land," to more conventional economic-employment explanations. While the questions of "why" have been dominating discussions of the new trend, the equally important question of why migrants are moving where they are has been largely ignored. The thinking is that the reason and destination questions are opposite sides of the same issue: an understanding of why individuals are moving provides the explanation for relocation decisions. The general consensus seems to be that the new migration trend is being fueled by an emphasis on quality-of-life factors which seem to be assuming greater importance in both the decision to move and in the choice of destination. One of the guiding principles of this research has been the notion that these are two quite distinct decision-making issues. They need not be related, and, according to some research evidence, they are not.

The present chapter focuses on various aspects of these two issues--the reason for leaving the metro area and the reason for choosing the non-metro destination. We plan to analyze survey data eliciting migrants' reasons for moving, and as part of this general issue we will assess their levels of satisfaction with various aspects of the former place of residence and their overall feelings about moving. As is the case with leaving a



place, destination selection can involve a wide variety of motivations, only some of which may be related to the reason for moving. In the second part of the chapter we will analyze migrants' reasons for selecting their particular destinations, and document their prior contacts with <sup>and</sup> ties to the destination area. We will be particularly attuned to the need to document the extent of return migration. Finally, we will look at the way migrants, who have not returned to a place where they or a spouse once lived, became aware of the place in which they are now residing, and the number and types of alternatives considered prior to the move. This examination of reasons will provide useful insights into the causes of "population turnaround," and raise questions about the generalizability of the dominant mode of explaining migration decisions.

#### EXPLANATIONS FOR MOVING

The prevailing view in migration research is that economic, and particularly employment-related motivations, underlie most long-distance moves (Ritchey, 1976; Greenwood, 1975). and destination selections / This perspective has been reinforced by secondary data analyses of attributes of areas of origin and destination as predictors of in- and outmigration, by analyses of the composition of migration streams, and by the analyses of reasons provided by migrants in surveys. A common tendency has been to focus on structural characteristics or origins and destinations, and to infer migrant motives. The relative availability of secondary economic, and particularly employment data, for a variety of areal units may have helped shape the prevailing view of man as a maximizer of economic wants, and of economic motivations as the major causal factor in the migration process (Shaw, 1975:57).



Data on the composition of migration streams, and patterns of selectivity by such variables as age, education and skill level, have also been interpreted within this general economic model. While a bias may be involved in inferring motives from secondary data, and from the composition of migrant streams, survey data have reinforced the view that employment considerations are the basic stimuli in the migration process. In past surveys of migrants, a majority of respondents have consistently cited (Lansing and Mueller, 1967; Price and Sikes, 1975). work-related reasons for moving/ Housing problems and changes in marital or family status are also somewhat important, but generally they have not been cited as the predominant reason for moving. Noneconomic explanations have not been ignored in past research. Residential and environmental amenities, including climate, social ties, and various cultural "pull" factors, though, have almost always receded in importance when viewed against the evidence for the importance of income and employment factors. Previous surveys of reasons for migration have clearly emphasized the role of jobs and job changes as the single best descriptor of motivations for longer distance moves.

#### The New Migration

The recent population reversal, however, has forced a reassessment of explanations for moving and for selecting destination areas. Since much of the new migration stream is comprised of groups for which economic reasons are not particularly obvious, and is directed toward destination areas presumed to be rich in quality-of-life amenities, there is speculation that the economic-employment factor has diminished as an influence in migration, at least for the new metro-to-nonmetro streams. The impetus toward this reassessment of economic-employment motivations for migration has been provided by data from residential preference surveys, secondary data



examinations of high immigration areas, and, more recently, from surveys of individuals moving in a nonmetropolitan direction.

As data begin to accumulate, one very dominant mode of thinking and explanation has emerged: unlike motivations for past rural-urban migration, the present trend is characterized by the prominence of noneconomic motivations in the migration decisions of a large stream. For different segments of the population this translates into a variety of noneconomic reasons for moving: going "back to the land," getting away from big-city life, moving for place-specific amenity reasons, and family ties, to suggest a few.

The evidence that nonemployment-related site considerations may be assuming a larger role in current nonmetropolitan growth has tentatively been placed into the context of structural changes occurring in American society, and in industrialized societies in general. As societies become highly developed the role of economic factors is presumed to recede in importance as a motive to migrate. In addition, as a result of rising affluence and higher standards of living, and availability of retirement income, there is felt to be an increasing "floating population" which can settle (Morrison and Wheeler, 1976). where it pleases/ This pool of relatively unconstrained, voluntary migrants forms the migration potential which, in interaction with quality-of-life related place utilities, may provide key elements in the explanation for the revival of nonmetropolitan America.

The basic question of whether there is any distinctiveness to the current metro-nonmetro stream is still unanswered. Are the motivations of migrants actually at variance with the dominant economic models of migration? If so, is the difference due to the stream's composition, which may be comprised of significant numbers of individuals for whom labor-force models



were never meant to apply, such as the elderly, or to a shift in importance of noneconomic criteria in migration decision-making?

The objective here is to examine, in light of existing migration research, and in comparison with a group of nonmetropolitan migrants, the relative importance of various reasons metropolitan and nonmetropolitan migrants give for leaving their former residence. To establish whether there is any uniqueness to their response patterns, <sup>metro migrants</sup> will be compared with migrants who have recently moved into the same counties from other nonmetropolitan areas. The implicit hypothesis is that if metro-nonmetro migration is a function of disaffection with larger urban areas, or "longing" for the amenities in more rural areas, such reasons should be more evident in the reason structure of metro migrants than of nonmetro migrants. To examine whether the results of the analysis of reasons are misleading because of the composition of the samples, separate analyses will be conducted for the portions of the samples that are of labor-force age. If the new migration is being generated by motivations that are different from those which characterized long-distance moves in the past, the metropolitan migrant sample should exhibit a response pattern at variance with findings from prior migration research and the responses of the alternative sample of migrants. Moreover, the pattern should be borne out even after restricting the comparisons to samples similar to those which have shaped the prevailing view of migration stimuli.

#### ANALYSIS OF MIGRANTS' MOTIVATIONS FOR MOVING

In this research we employed a six-category scheme for classifying reasons for leaving the former area of residence. In the survey all migrants were asked to give their reasons for leaving their former place of residence,



and then to identify the main<sup>REASON.</sup> These main reasons were then coded into the following reason categories:

- 1) Employment Related: includes all job transfers, moves for reasons of unemployment or underemployment, searches for new, better and different employment, higher wages, etc.
- 2) Ties to Area of Destination: includes responses indicating a desire to return to area of birth or of former residence, to an area with which the respondent was familiar, or in which he/she had friends or relatives, would be close to friends or family, or had property.
- 3) Environmental "Push" Factors: includes all responses citing negative attributes of the previous residence, ranging from the quite general ("get away from the city," or, in the case of some of the nonmetro migrants, "get out of the small town"), to the very specific.
- 4) Environmental "Pull" Factors: responses were coded as "pull" if they specified some attractive feature of the place of destination, the important consideration being that the area of destination was the referent.
- 5) Retirement: includes all who gave retirement as the main reason.
- 6) Other reasons: includes infrequently mentioned miscellaneous reasons, such as health, divorce, marriage, schooling, as well as those who "just wanted to move."

In presenting the distributions of reasons given for leaving the metropolitan residence, two comparisons are important: First, migrants from metro areas with migrants from nonmetro areas, and second, the total sample of migrants with the households in which the head is of working age. The first permits an assessment of the uniqueness of the metro-migrants' reasons for leaving their former residences. If urban "push" and rural "pull" factors are as important as they are hypothesized to be for the metro-nonmetro flow, such responses should be more frequent among the metro migrants. The second comparison, which uses the age of the household head to delineate the labor force population in the sample, permits a direct analysis of reasons for those persons for whom economic and labor mobility models are intended. The data for making these two comparisons are presented in Table 3:1.



Looking first at the data for the total metro migrant sample, we see that for about 75 percent of the households reasons other than employment were cited for leaving the former residence (Table 3:1). The most frequently cited type of reason, "environmental push factors," is the single most important motivation underlying the decision to leave the metro residence. If we combine the environmental push and pull reasons and let them represent environmental or site characteristics, we see that for 40 percent of the households these were the most important reasons for migrating, in fact much more important than employment-related reasons (24%). In clear contrast, data for immigrants from nonmetropolitan counties show a substantial proportion (46%) reporting employment-related reasons for leaving their prior residence. For this sample, environmental push and pull factors account for only about 20 percent of the moves. The data further show that, for the metro migrant stream, retirement is an important motivating factor, accounting for about 17 percent of the moves. And as expected, it is a much less important reason for the nonmetropolitan migrants, accounting for 10 percent of all moves.

[Table 3.1 about here]

In comparison with past migration research, the reason structure of the metro stream is quite different, and clearly unlike that for the nonmetro stream (Table 3:1). The data for the latter stream is much more consistent with economic models of migration. There is, thus, some basis for concluding that the metropolitan stream is unique, suggesting that for this particular flow economic models are relatively inappropriate to the findings. Before any firm conclusions can be reached about the utility of economic models in understanding the turnaround, there is a need to restrict the analysis to that segment of the sample to which labor force models apply, in particular



Table 3.1 Reason for Leaving Previous Residence, by Migrant Type for Total Samples and for Households with Head Aged 18-59.

Type of reason	Total samples			Household heads aged 18-59			
	Metro migrants		Nonmetro migrants	Metro migrants		Nonmetro migrants	
	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%
1. Employment related	122	24	96	115	35	20	57
2. Ties to area of destination	27	8	27	21	6	13	8
3. Environmental "push" factors	130	26	15	25	20	15	9
4. Environmental "pull" factors	71	14	25	50	15	17	11
5. Retirement	86	17	20	14	4	3	2
6. Other reasons	54	11	24	37	11	21	13
No response	1	-	1	1	-	-	-
Total	501	100	208	333	100	159	100



the population of labor force age. That segment is operationalized here as households with heads aged 18 to 59.

The relative reduction in sample sizes, when we restrict the analysis to those in households with heads aged 18 to 59, suggests that the metro flow is much older than the nonmetro flow. Persons over 59 account for about a third of the metro flow and a fourth of the nonmetro flow (Table 3.1). However, we continue to find some retirees in both streams (4<sup>%</sup><sub>^</sub> and 2%, respectively). Since the reduction in sample sizes is considerably greater than the number in the total sample who stated they moved because they had retired, we can conclude that the total metro sample contains a sizable number of persons over 60 moving for reasons other than retirement. Perhaps they represent some stage of pre-retirement, moving to these areas in anticipation of retirement.

Restricting the analysis to respondents in households with heads 18-59 does alter the distribution of reasons (Table 3.1). Metro respondents in these households cite employment-related reasons (35%) more often than any other type of reason. Push factors, also relatively important, were cited by 29 percent of the households. If we combine the environmental push and pull factors, as we have done previously, to obtain some rough measure of the importance of "quality of life" or site criteria in moving, we still have over 44 percent of the metro households moving essentially for reasons other than employment. Thus, the major underlying motivations of households migrating from metropolitan areas do not change dramatically when labor-force age is specified. The nonmetropolitan households' reasons continue to stand in clear contrast to those of metropolitan households. As was observed for the total sample, employment reasons predominate (57%).



The evidence presented in Table 3.1 presents a convincing case that the metro-nonmetro stream, at least for the counties sampled, is characterized by migration decisionmaking on the basis of environmental and site characteristics or amenities, and to a lesser extent on the basis of employment-related factors. It is particularly noteworthy that a separate breakdown of reasons for households with a working-age head does not affect this interpretation of the findings. It serves only to slightly diminish the relative importance of noneconomic criteria. Differences between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan migrants are considerable, with the latter migrants much more likely to move for the conventional employment reasons. In general, the overall findings are consistent with the argument that the population turnaround is a function of the diminished attractiveness of urban areas and the increased attractiveness of rural areas, and that it is rooted more in environmental factors than in employment.

To provide more insight into the reasons metropolitan migrants give for leaving, we present a further elaboration on the original six-category scheme. The original classifications have been retained, but with additional breakdowns to permit a closer examination of the importance of various specific reasons for the move. In Table 3.2 it is possible to determine, first, the overall importance of any given reason in each migrant sample, and second the importance of any reason for the category under which it is subsumed. Within the general "employment related" category, for example, the reason indicating a move to "look for work," or because other work had been located, was given by 8 percent of the total metro migrant sample, and by more than a third (34%) of the metro migrants giving employment reasons. Of those who gave employment reasons for moving, most (62%) said they left the metro residence



either because they were transferred or moved to look for work. Relatively few left to go into farming (12%), as we have seen in chapter 2, or to be closer to employment (12%).

[Table 3.2 about here]

Of particular interest in Table 3.2 are the distributions on the detailed environmental "push" and "pull" factors, which are presumed to be two of the main underlying motivations for the new migration trend. Over all, environmental push reasons were given by 26 percent of the total sample of metro migrants, but of all the persons citing push reasons, almost half (49%) gave a general anti-urban response, such as "too many restrictions in the city," "wanted to get away from the city," or "got tired of the big city." Similarly, if an individual gave a pull reason it would most likely be a general "pro-rural" response such as "liked the open areas," "wanted the rural life," or "just liked the country." Almost half (49%) of those giving "pull" reasons expressed a general, pro-rural sentiment. Relatively few mentioned specific pull factors, and those who did mentioned a wide variety of attractions in the new area of residence. Restricting the total sample to only those households with heads between 18 and 59, as we have done in Table 3.1, affects some of the gross category proportions, but it does not particularly affect the proportions reporting the various reasons within categories (Table 3:2).

#### FURTHER EVIDENCE FOR THE MOTIVATIONS OF METRO MIGRANTS

The data presented so far support our initial supposition that metro-nonmetro migration is characterized by a motivational base at variance with much of the existing research on long-distance migration. The findings suggest that the metro-nonmetro stream in the current study is composed of persons moving more for environmental considerations than for employment reasons. The further delineation of households on the basis of the age of household head did not alter the overall research findings.



Table 3.2 Distributions of Detailed Reasons for Leaving for Metro Migrants, for Total Sample and for Households with Head Aged 18-59.

Type of reason	Total sample			Household heads aged 18-59		
	No.	Total distribution %	Distribution within type of reason %	No.	Total distribution %	Distribution within type of reason %
1. <u>Employment Related:</u>	122	24	100	115	35	100
A. Job transfer	34	7	28	33	10	29
B. Look for/located other employ.	42	8	34	41	12	36
C. Unemployed/underemployed	16	3	13	15	5	13
D. Went into farming	14	3	12	13	4	11
E. Moved closer to employment	14	3	12	12	4	10
F. Other employment related	2	0	1	1	0	1
2. <u>Ties to Area of Destination:</u>	27	7	100	21	6	100
A. Closer to relatives/friends	13	2	35	6	2	29
B. Prior residence in area	16	3	43	10	3	43
C. Familiarity with area	0	0	0	0	0	0
D. Owned property in area	3	2	22	5	1	24
E. Other ties	0	0	0	0	0	0
3. <u>Environmental Push Factors:</u>	130	26	100	95	23	100
A. General push factors	9	2	7	5	2	5
B. General push: anti-urban	62	13	43	47	14	50
C. Specific push factors:						
a. Crime/safety	14	3	11	9	3	10
b. Environmental quality	25	5	19	21	6	22
c. Cost of living	8	1	6	5	2	5
d. Other specific push	11	2	8	8	2	8
4. <u>Environmental Pull Factors:</u>	71	14	100	50	15	100
A. General pull factors	10	2	14	6	2	12
B. General pull: pro-rural	35	7	49	26	8	52
C. Specific pull factors:						
a. Crime/safety	0	0	0	0	0	0
b. Environmental quality	1	0	1	0	0	0
c. Cost of living	1	0	2	1	0	2
d. Other specific pull	24	5	34	17	5	34
5. <u>Retirement</u>	86	17	100	14	4	100
6. <u>Other reasons</u>	54	11	100	37	11	100



Additional analyses were undertaken in which we attempted to specify some logical concomitant conditions that would be associated with moving for nonemployment reasons. We felt that these conditions, if demonstrated, would provide yet additional support for, or against, our earlier findings.

First, we examined the relationship between the reason for leaving the metropolitan area and size of place of residence prior to leaving. We reasoned that if disenchantment with large urban areas is one of the strong motivations for moving, we should observe a strong relationship between reason for moving and size of former place of residence. More specifically, those moving for noneconomic, environmental reasons should come disproportionately from the largest places. Our second hypothesized relationship represents the other side of the coin. It is based on the assumption that the reason for leaving the metropolitan area should be related to size of place of destination. Specifically, those wanting to "get away from big city life" or who "wanted country living" would be most likely to go to the smaller towns and villages while those moving for employment reasons, in order to maximize employment opportunities, would move to larger towns.

Finally, we entertained the possibility that even though there is evidence of moving for reasons other than employment, metro migrants may be as likely to improve themselves economically as migrants who are moving for economic-employment reasons. At issue here is whether those moving for environmental reasons are more or less likely to have improved their incomes than those moving explicitly for jobs, better jobs, etc. If they are less likely, we would then have some evidence for a "trade-off" where amenities are maximized at the expense of income.



To simplify the analysis, we have combined the environmental push and environmental pull reasons into a single category which we are referring to as "environmental influences." This seems to best represent the antithesis of "employment reasons," which is retained as a separate category. The remaining types of reasons have been placed in a residual category which can also be viewed broadly as a set of nonemployment reasons. Thus, in the following analyses a three-category reason scheme will be used, and the analyses will be restricted to those metro migrant households with heads aged 18-59.

#### Reasons and Places of Origin

In this portion of the analysis we are simply addressing the question of whether there is an association between size of place of origin and probability of moving for environmental reasons, and, in particular, whether the metro migrants citing environmental reasons for leaving have come disproportionately from the largest places in the metropolitan area. Data addressing this question are presented in Table 3.3.

The data show a bimodal distribution for size of place of origin. About 37 percent of all households came from places in the metro area having less than 50,000 population, probably suburban or fringe communities, and only slightly less (35%) came from large cities of a quarter of a million or more. By and large, cross classifying size of place of origin by reason for leaving yields the expected result. Nearly half (46%) of those who left for environmental reasons come from the largest cities, compared with only 27 percent for those moving for employment reasons. The relationship, however, is not completely monotonic, and the pattern is not as consistent as was expected. Metro migrants from the intermediate size cities (50,000 to 250,000 population) gave fewer environmental reasons than those moving from the smaller towns in the metropolitan area. It is also of interest to note the consistent



relationship between employment based reasons and size of place of origin; the smaller the size of place, the more likely metro migrants were to cite employment reasons for moving.

[Table 3.3 about here]

#### Reasons and Destinations

At issue in this portion of the analysis is whether those moving for environmental reasons tend disproportionately to locate in smaller towns. Data presented in Table 3.4 permit a test of this relationship. Existing migration research would lead us to expect those moving for job-related reasons to be most likely to choose places with larger, more diversified labor markets, that is, larger towns. For all respondents, size of current place of residence refers to the town migrants identified with at the time of interview and in some cases may not be the household's initial residence after the move. However, only about 22 percent report having lived in more than one home since immigration. For purposes of comparison, data in table 3:4 also include the size of place distributions for all nonmetropolitan migrants.

[Table 3.4 about here]

As we have seen in Chapter II, most migrants live in small places--over 80 percent in or around towns of under 5,000. In contrast, the nonmetropolitan migrants, a larger proportion of whom are moving for employment reasons, tend to locate in larger towns than the metro migrants. Data from the cross tabulation of reason-for-leaving with size of current place of residence strongly supports our hypothesis that those moving for environmental reasons are locating disproportionately in (or near) smaller towns. Of those citing environmental reasons, and the residual category which is also made up of a variety of nonemployment reasons, a majority located in places with less than 1,000 population. Only 29 percent of those moving



Table 3.3 Population of City of Origin (1970) by Reason for Leaving,  
Metropolitan Migrant Households with Head Aged 18-59.

Reason for leaving		Size of Place of Origin (1970)			Total
		Under 50,000	50,000- 250,000	250,000+	
All Households <sup>a/</sup>	(N)	119	31	113	323
	(%)	37	28	35	100
Employment	(N)	16	35	30	111
	(%)	41	37	27	100
Environmental influences	(N)	46	31	66	143
	(%)	32	22	46	100
All other reasons combined	(N)	27	25	17	69
	(%)	39	36	25	100

<sup>a/</sup>Excludes 9 cases for which size of place of origin could not be coded.



Table 3.4 Population of Current Residence (1970) by Reason for Leaving for Metropolitan Migrant Households, and Marginals for Nonmetropolitan Migrant Households (Households with Head Aged 18-59).

Subsample and reason for leaving		Size of current place of residence (1970)			
		Under 1000	1000- 1999	5000+	Total
All metro migrant households <sup>a/</sup>	(N)	152	113	65	330
	(%)	46	34	20	100
Employment	(N)	33	47	35	115
	(%)	29	41	30	100
Environmental influences	(N)	80	14	19	113
	(%)	56	11	13	100
All other reasons combined	(N)	39	22	11	72
	(%)	54	31	15	100
All nonmetro migrant households	(N)	56	56	47	159
	(%)	35	35	30	100

<sup>a/</sup> Excludes 2 cases for which current place of residence population could not be coded.



for employment reasons are similarly located. Thus, we conclude that those who moved for reasons other than employment--those looking to get away from the city or simply wanting country life--are selecting the smaller nonmetropolitan places of destination.

#### Reasons and Household Income

The final question addresses the relationship between reasons for leaving and income changes. We have suggested that if households were truly motivated to move for nonemployment, and particularly for environmental, considerations they would be less likely to experience an improvement in income after the move than those who were moving for employment reasons. There is no necessary relationship between reason for moving and income change. Conceivably, employment motivated moves may involve less income after move, and some environmentally motivated moves may involve improvements in income. We are only suggesting that there is a higher expectation that those who cite nonemployment or environmental reasons for moving would be most likely to experience lower post-move incomes. We have data on whether respondents' household income was more, the same, or less in the year after the move than in the year prior to the move. Income change is displayed for the metro migrant group by reason for move in Table 3.5 as are marginals for nonmetro migrants.

[Table 3.5 about here]

There is no evidence that those moving for reasons other than employment show any greater likelihood of earning less after the move than those moving for any other set of reasons. The three categories of reasons for leaving have about the same proportion reporting that their incomes were less in the year following the move. However, those moving for nonemployment reasons are distinctly less likely to have earned more in the year after the move than in the year before. Forty two percent of those moving



Table 3.5 Post-move Income Change by Reason for Leaving for Metropolitan Migrant Households, and Marginals for Nonmetropolitan Migrant Households (Households with Head Aged 18-59).

Subsample and reason for leaving		Direction of income change			Total
		More	Same	Less	
All metro migrant households <sup>a/</sup>	(N)	89	149	84	322
	(%)	28	46	26	100
Employment	(N)	47	33	32	112
	(%)	42	29	29	100
Environmental influences	(N)	31	74	36	141
	(%)	22	52	26	100
All other reasons combined	(N)	11	42	16	69
	(%)	16	61	23	100
All nonmetro migrant households	(N)	56	37	58	151
	(%)	37	24	38	100

<sup>a/</sup> Excludes 10 refusals.



for employment reasons report more income, while only 22 percent and 16 percent of the other nonemployment categories, respectively, reported more income. Thus, in contrast to those moving for employment related reasons, the others have generally experienced no major change in income in the non-metropolitan residence. The findings on this point provide some documentation for the hypothesis that the new migration is made up, at least in part, of a "floating population" with some income security. One of the reasons for the high proportions of those moving for reasons other than employment having experienced no income change may be due to the transfer of income in the move.

In summary, the data point strongly in the direction of a different motivational base underlying the new migration trend. The findings for the metro migrants are in sharp contrast to the prevailing research on reasons for migrating, and in contrast to the findings for the nonmetro movers. As others have argued, our data show that there are different explanations for the new metro-nonmetro stream: employment, retirement, amenities of rural areas, and dissatisfaction with urban areas. By and large, though, the movement is rooted in noneconomic-nonemployment considerations. This is substantiated by our comparisons of reasons given for moving by the metro and nonmetro samples, for both the total sample and the portion of the sample comprised of households with working-age heads. An attempt to validate the findings by examining some of the assumed logical concomitants of moving for environmental and employment-related reasons provides additional evidence for arguing that the new migration to nonmetro areas is being generated by motivations different from those which have characterized long distance moves in the past. And, we might add, which are different from those characterizing



the nonmetro-nonmetro migration stream currently.

#### SATISFACTION WITH FORMER RESIDENCE

Our analysis of reasons for moving suggests that, at least for those moving for "environmental push" reasons, there was a certain amount of dissatisfaction with the former area as a place to live and work. It could be argued, of course, that some dissatisfaction underlies most moves, at least in a relative sense, and that dissatisfaction is a necessary precondition for moving. It is also conceivable that the former residence may not necessarily be deficient on a variety of place utility considerations, but rather that the destination is relatively more satisfying as a place for meeting household and family needs. This relative comparison, rather than widespread dissatisfaction, may be the more important consideration in effecting a residential change.

In this section, the focus will be on migrants' retrospective evaluations of their satisfaction with various aspects of the former residences. Their responses will permit a comparative assessment of dissatisfaction on specific community-based items, and a ranking of place attributes which elicit the most satisfaction-dissatisfaction. We will also look at how migrants rate their overall satisfaction with the former residence, and at how their reasons for leaving are related to their overall satisfaction.

Table 3:6 displays the extent of migrants' dissatisfaction with ten specific attributes of the former residence. All of the items have been <sup>used</sup> in previous research to provide an assessment of the domain generally referred to as community satisfaction. At the bottom of the table we report frequencies on a single item asking respondents to assess their overall satisfaction with the former place of residence. On all of the satisfaction measures reported in Table 3.6, migrants were presented with a set of four



possible response choices, ranging from "very satisfied" to "very dissatisfied." The percentages which appear in table 3:6 are the two dissatisfaction responses combined.

[Table 3.6 about here]

The more striking observations are that, by and large, there was not a great amount of dissatisfaction with the prior residence, and that there are sharp differences between the two samples on almost every item (Table 3.6). It might be suggested that many of the differences simply reflect aggregate differences known to exist between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas in the region and nation. For example, much higher proportions of the nonmetro migrants expressed dissatisfaction with employment opportunities, medical care, senior citizen programs, shopping facilities, and public transportation in their former residences than the metro migrants. The differences are consistent with the metro-nonmetro disparities that exist, at the aggregate level, on these types of quality-of-life measures (Dillman and Tremblay, 1977; Brinkman, 1974). There is, however, one striking anomaly; while urban schools are generally felt to be better than rural schools, the metro migrants were considerably more dissatisfied with the quality of schools than were the nonmetro migrants. This is clearly a case in which aggregate and individual measures of quality are at odds. On two other items the responses are consistent with current popular conceptions of more rural areas: nonmetro migrants were much less dissatisfied with the friendliness of neighbors and local tax rates than the metro migrants.

Another way of looking at the same data is in terms of the items on which there was the greatest amount of dissatisfaction. In other words, what were the specific features of the former place of residence with which migrants were most dissatisfied? For the metro migrants, taxes <sup>were</sup> the item most disliked in the former residence, with public transportation,



Table 3.6 Migrants' Dissatisfaction with Selected Attributes of the Former Residence, by Migrant Type.

Satisfaction Item	Migrant Group	
	Metro Migrant	Nonmetro Migrant
	-----Percent-----	
Availability of employment	12 <sup>a/</sup>	33
Quality of public schools	21	11
Availability of medical care	6	25
Programs for senior citizens	19	36
Shopping facilities	6	27
Availability of public transportation	25	43
Friendliness of neighbors	17	7
Outdoor recreational opportunities	22	18
Maintenance of streets and roads	19	22
Local tax rates	16	18
Overall Dissatisfaction	21	18

<sup>a/</sup> Percentages reported are the two combined dissatisfaction responses on the choices presented to respondents.



outdoor recreational opportunities and quality of schools following, in that order. For the nonmetro migrants, items registering the most dissatisfaction were public transportation, senior citizen programs, and employment opportunities, which we have shown earlier to be the main reason for moving by this particular sample.

One could argue that on many of the items there might be a differential age response. Older persons, for example, might be less critical of or dissatisfied with schools, employment opportunities or outdoor recreational opportunities, for the simple reason that they probably had less direct knowledge of (or made less use of) these aspects of the former residence and would thus be more satisfied. Conversely, there are some items which we might expect the younger migrants to have had less contact with and know less about and thus be less critical of. The data generally confirm this speculation. There is differential assessment of items by age of migrants (Table 3.7). Without delving into the variety of patterns in the data, it might be pointed out that on almost every item, the exceptions being taxes and public transportation, the older group in the sample (55 and over) was more satisfied than the younger group. Some of this may be, as we suggested, related to diminished contact with or use of some of the items we have listed, or perhaps to increased tolerance and acceptance of different standards of comparison. We observe a similar trend among the nonmetro migrants; more of the younger persons in the sample tend to be dissatisfied with their former residences. This is illustrated nicely on the "employment opportunity" item where, among the nonmetro migrants 35 and under a little more than four out of ten were dissatisfied to some degree, but among those 55 and over dissatisfaction is expressed by less than half that proportion.

[Table 3.7 about here]



**Table 3.7 Migrants' Dissatisfaction with Selected Attributes of Former Residence, by Migrant Type and Age.**

Satisfaction Item	Migrant group and age					
	Metro migrants			Nonmetro migrants		
	<36	36-54	55+	<36	36-54	55+
Availability of employment	15 <sup>a/</sup>	13	7	44	29	20
Quality of public schools	28	27	12	14	15	2
Availability of medical care	7	6	3	34	20	17
Programs for senior citizens	20	24	14	41	38	27
Shopping facilities	6	15	6	34	23	20
Availability of public transportation	25	21	27	53	59	48
Friendliness of neighbors	28	18	8	9	10	0
Outdoor recreational opportunities	30	23	11	18	25	15
Maintenance of streets and roads	22	20	15	23	28	13
Local tax rates	42	53	45	14	21	17
Overall Dissatisfaction	28	22	14	18	25	13

<sup>a/</sup> Percentages reported are the two combined dissatisfaction responses on the choices presented to respondents.



Next, we turn to a different satisfaction question: How does overall dissatisfaction vary by reason for moving? In other words, is there a relationship between the motivations for leaving an area and satisfaction-dissatisfaction with the area? This data provides a means for validating the analysis of reasons in the previous section, and to determine <sup>if</sup> migrants' motivations for moving reflect different degrees of satisfaction-dissatisfaction with the former residence. We might argue, for example, that those moving for "environmental push" reasons should be the most dissatisfied segment of the metro migrant sample. This is essentially what we find (Table 3.8). Those moving for "push" reasons have the highest level of dissatisfaction, and those moving for retirement reasons the lowest level. It should be pointed out, though, that a major portion of the metro migrants, even among those moving for environmental "push" reasons, were generally satisfied with the former residence.

[Table 3.8 about here]

It appears from the data that the population turnaround may be more a product of the increased attractiveness of rural areas than it is of the diminished attractiveness and dissatisfaction with urban areas. We have no data to address this issue directly; we can only point out that we do not detect any pervasive dissatisfaction among metro migrants with places of former urban residence. In fact, if we compare the migrant groups on the portion giving overall dissatisfaction responses, we see they are quite similar (21% and 18%, Table 3.7). Metro movers are not significantly more dissatisfied, overall, with their former places of residence than the nonmetro migrants. This may illustrate that place dissatisfaction is not one of the necessary preconditions for moving, but to the extent that it is, it is comparable for migrants from both types of origin.



Table 3.8 Dissatisfaction Among Migrants Moving for Different Reasons,  
by Migrant Type.

Reason for Move	Metro migrants who are dissatisfied	Nonmetro migrants who are dissatisfied
	-----Percent-----	
1. Employment related factors	16	14
2. Ties to area	8	22
3. Environmental "push" factors	39	40
4. Environmental "pull" factors	24	20
5. Retirement	7	15
6. Other	10	21



Given these findings, how does one reconcile the fact that households moved even though there was not widespread dissatisfaction with the former residence? Several explanations are possible. Some of the moves were undoubtedly involuntary, and some quasi-involuntary, in which case there is no necessary link between reason for moving and dissatisfaction with the former residence. For other migrants, the attractiveness of an alternative residence, the destination, may have simply outweighed that in the former place, again without any great amount of underlying dissatisfaction with the former residence. Finally, it is possible that some of the dissatisfaction which existed at the time of the move has been tempered, and in retrospect the former residence does not look that bad.

#### Migrants' Feelings about Moving

Migrants did not express much dissatisfaction with their former residences, but they were not unhappy about moving. Most of the metro migrants (51%) reported they were happy, and a sizable portion (43%), as one would expect of individuals who have lived in an area for some time, were ambivalent about the move (data not presented). There is a similar pattern for the nonmetro movers.

Other data based on a cross tabulation of feelings toward moving with reason for moving reinforce earlier portions of the analysis (data not presented). Those moving for environmental "push" reasons reported they were most happy (63%) with leaving; those moving for employment reasons were the least happy (41%). There was a striking difference between the retirement movers in the two samples, however. In the metro migrant sample the retirement movers were <sup>happy about leaving (57%), but in the nonmetro sample retirement movers</sup> the least happy (35%). The explanation for this differ-

ence may lie in the reason they moved where they have. The metro migrants



moving for retirement reasons overwhelmingly went to areas where they had ties and with which they were familiar (69%), but only half of the nonmetro migrants moving for retirement reasons went to destination areas chosen on the basis of ties and familiarity. A sizable portion of the nonmetro migrants citing retirement reasons (45%) chose destinations for a variety of environmental "pull" reasons--one of which was to locate in a larger place. This may suggest that the retirement movers from metro areas are more likely to be voluntary movers than the retirement, nonmetro migrants.

#### REASONS FOR SELECTING DESTINATIONS

The other side of the migration decision, and perhaps the one with greater implications for nonmetropolitan areas, involves the choice of destination. The basic question is why, in light of all available alternatives, individuals choose to locate in a particular destination. If the present migration trend continues, it may be more consequential to know why people are choosing particular destinations than why they are moving.

Current speculation on destination selection parallels that on motivation for moving; individuals have more freedom in destination choice, and are giving importance <sup>to</sup> noneconomic considerations in determining what is for them an attractive place to live. The implication of this reasoning is that in contrast to the availability of employment and economic opportunities, place considerations have assumed importance in the choice of destination.

In this research, the analysis of factors surrounding destination selection is based on responses to a question asking why the respondent chose "this" particular place rather than some other place. The question is highly focused and is not intended to measure reasons for moving to a



nonmetropolitan area in general, nor does it describe the narrowing down process which is presumed to exist prior to the choice of a destination. Data on destination selection are displayed for the total sample, and separately for that portion of the sample in households with heads of labor force age (18-59), by migrant type, in table 3:9.

[Table 3.9 about here]

Using the same set of categories which were developed for analyzing reasons for moving, we see that the criteria migrants employed in selecting a destination show a considerably different distribution than reasons for leaving the former residence, and there are differences by migrant type as well (Table 3.9). As was the case with reasons for leaving, employment criteria are much more evident among the immigrants from other nonmetropolitan counties, and in fact employment is the modal response for this migrant group (42%).

For the total sample of metropolitan migrants, on the other hand, the modal response category is "ties to the area of destination" (45%). Ties are also important for migrants from nonmetropolitan areas, accounting for 31 percent of the total. Environmental pull factors were the second most frequently mentioned category of reasons (28%) for all metropolitan migrants, and, third, (21%) for all nonmetropolitan migrants (Table 3.9).

Detailed data (not presented here) on choice of destination show that 60 percent of the migrants reporting employment reasons stated that they had been transferred or had found a job in the place to which they moved. About 30 percent of those choosing the destination because of ties to the area wanted to be closer to friends or relatives, had parents living there, or were born or raised there and simply wanted to return. An additional 23 percent of those reporting ties owned property in the area and gave that as



Table 3.9 Reason for Choosing Destination, by Migrant Type for the Total Samples, and for Households with Head Aged 18-59.

Type of reason	Total samples				Household heads aged 18-59			
	Metro migrants		Nonmetro migrants		Metro migrants		Nonmetro migrants	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Employment related	105	21	86	42	101	30	80	50
2. Ties to area of destination	227	45	65	31	128	39	38	24
3. Environmental "push" factors	8	2	1	1	5	2	1	1
4. Environmental "pull" factors	141	28	44	21	87	26	37	20
5. Retirement	5	1	2	1	1	0	0	0
6. Other reasons	14	3	9	4	11	3	8	5
No response	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Total	501	100	208	100	333	100	159	100



the specific reason, while the rest (15%) selected the destination on the basis of familiarity with the area, primarily familiarity gained through vacationing.

Restricting the analysis to households with heads aged 18-59 produced results similar to those observed for distributions of reasons for leaving the former residence. The overall importance of employment criteria in destination selection is increased, but subsample differences remain pronounced and consistent with the assertion that the metro-nonmetro stream is at variance with labor force migration models arising out of economically oriented conceptions of human behavior.

#### MOTIVATIONS FOR MOVING AND DESTINATION SELECTION

Thus far the data suggest that both the decision to leave the metro area, and the choice of a nonmetro destination, are based largely on considerations other than employment. This is certainly consistent with current speculation on motivations underlying the population turnaround. At the same time, the findings are at variance with previous research on long-distance migration which has emphasized the importance of employment factors. However, while the data illustrate the importance of nonemployment or environmental influences on migration decisions, they fail to document the extent to which the reason for move and destination selection aspects of the migration decision are related. Earlier in this research we have argued for a distinction between the two decisions, and reasoned that there is no necessary relationship between migrants' reasons for leaving a place and their reasons for selecting a place of destination. But the two decisions are not unrelated, either. A move motivated by employment reasons, for example, is likely to coincide with the selection of a destination on the basis of employment factors. The data in Tables 3.1 and 3.9 do not



permit us to relate the two migration decisions, although <sup>one</sup> ~~one~~ could easily conclude that if a gross employment-nonemployment categorization were used the two decisions would be highly related. Broad categorizations, however, fail to highlight the predominance of specific factors, in this case the importance of ties to the area to destination selection.

The cross-tabulations of reasons for leaving the former residence with reasons for selecting the place of destination provide the data for looking at how the two decisions are related. Table 3.10 presents a cross-tabulation based on a modified categorization scheme in which environmental "push" and environmental "pull" reasons are combined, and those few reporting "retirement" as a reason for selecting a destination are assigned to the "other" category. In the upper portion of Table 3.10, which presents the cross-tabulation for the metro migrants, we see that those moving for employment reasons essentially select destinations on the basis of employment factors. For most other reasons, though, ties in the area of destination were cited as reasons for choosing a particular destination. These ties range from prior residence in the area to ownership of property or housing in the destination area, to the presence of pre-existing friendship and kinship ties. A similar pattern exists for the nonmetro migrants (lower portion of Table 3.10) but the importance of ties is less than that for the metro sample. Employment reasons, though, dominate the selection of a destination if nonmetro migrants moved for employment reasons.

[Table 3.10 about here]

The data in Table 3.10 permit two general conclusions: first, our contention that there is no necessary relationship between the two basic migration decisions appears to have substantial support, with the major exception being



### Table 3.10 Cross-Tabulation of Reason for Move with Reason for Selecting Destination, by Migrant Type.

Reason for Selecting Destination	Reason for Leaving Former Residence: Metro Migrants									
	Employment		Ties in Destination		Environmental Influences		Refirement		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Employment	81	66	-	-	17	9	1	1	6	11
2. Ties in Destination	21	17	32	86	87	43	59	68	27	51
3. Environmental influences	19	16	5	11	90	15	22	26	13	25
4. Other	1	1	-	-	7	3	4	5	7	13

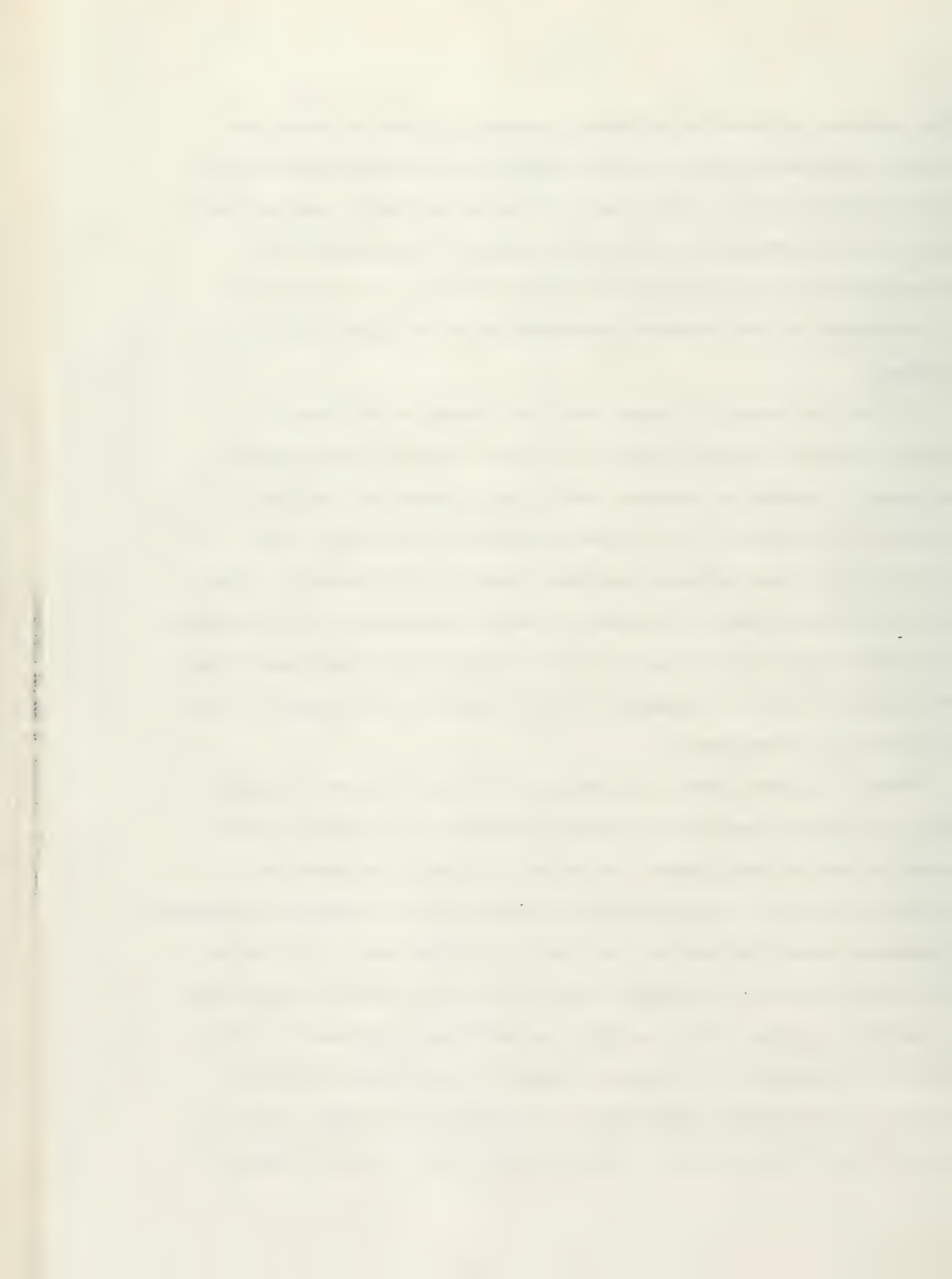
Reason for Leaving Former Residence: Nonmetro Migrants										
1. Employment	75	78	-	-	8	20	-	-	3	13
2. Ties in Destination	12	13	22	82	10	25	10	50	10	13
3. Environmental influences	9	9	3	11	19	17	9	15	5	22
4. Other	-	-	2	7	3	8	1	5	5	22



those migrants motivated by employment concerns. To know why people are leaving ~~a~~ particular area or type of residence is an imperfect predictor of where they will locate. And, second, ties to the destination area are perhaps the major destination selection consideration. Regardless of the reason people cite for having left the place of origin, ties in the area of destination are very important considerations in the selection of a new location.

It could be argued, of course, that the findings do not represent a dramatic departure from past migration research which has demonstrated the influence of information networks, family ties, friends, and familiarity with an area to the selection of a destination (Lansing and Mueller, 1967). It is true that location decisions have been shown to be influenced by a wider variety of factors than have decisions to move, although many of the nonemployment considerations have frequently been interpreted in an employment context. The presence of ties, for example, is felt to facilitate the search for and the acquisition of employment.

What is different about the current set of data on the metro migrants--given the existing research--is that while the motivational basis for the migration seems to have changed, the motivational basis for selecting a destination has not. Employment and destination ties are important in selecting a location, in much the same way that they have always been. This finding raises questions about the extent to which the new migration is characterized by individuals acting strictly on their pre-existing preferences for a more "rural" environment, and the extent to which the metro-nonmetro stream is made of a truly "floating population," setting where it pleases. The metro migrants may be acting on their desires for more rural places of residence



or responding to environmental influences, and they may be settling where they please, but they are also selecting places within the constraints of employment and affinity, and probably more the latter. In this respect they are not much different from past migrants.

One might argue also that, regardless of reason given for selecting a new location, employment must--out of necessity--be an important consideration, or that all migrants should have some ties in the new location prior to moving. We have no way of determining what portion of those moving for reasons other than employment also placed a high, but lesser, priority on employment factors, or conversely, what portion of those selecting a destination for employment reasons also placed a high level of importance on ties in the area to which they moved. In the survey questionnaire we elicited the main reason for choosing the particular place in which the migrants settled rather than some other place, and those are the data which we have reported. Regarding the argument that all migrants establish ties in an area prior to moving, we have no choice but to concur. The more important aspect of ties, though, concerns the duration and types of ties. We tried to exclude newly formed ties such as those which would be represented in home or property ownership in the area just prior to the move. Were we to include these types of ties, it is clear everyone would have had ties to the destination. We will point out in subsequent paragraphs that many migrants had no more than these minimal types of pre-move ties, and many selected destinations on the basis of other factors. One can not escape the fact, however, that a variety of ties to the area of destination were cited, and by more than just a few migrants.



Migrant Ties in Areas of Destination

The new migration is claimed to be made up of a "floating population" free to act on its residential preferences, in particular preferences in selecting a destination. Yet, as we have seen, the overriding reason migrants give for choosing a new destination is the presence of ties and contacts in the areas to which they have moved. Regardless of the reason migrants give for moving, their location decisions are influenced heavily by ties to and familiarity with an area.

One of the more obvious types of ties migrants may have had with the new location was prior residence in the area. In other words, some of our respondents are return migrants to the general geographical area or the county in which they are currently residing. Previous research has documented fairly extensive return migration as one component of the metro-nonmetro stream (Daley and Campbell, 1977). In our survey we have been able to document the importance of return migration, as well as the types of ties and contacts migrants had with the area prior to moving. In two-thirds of the migrant households neither respondent nor spouse had lived in the general "area" before (data not presented). Using this broad "area" referent, less than a third of the households in each sample could be referred to as "return migrants." Although some migrants are "returning home," it is clear that the migrant stream as a whole cannot easily be characterized as made up of persons moving back to areas where they once lived.

Using a more specific geographical referent, the county, to define a return migrant, the proportions are reduced to roughly a fourth of each



sample who had lived previously in the county. An even smaller portion of each stream is made up of migrants moving to counties in which they were born. Over all, about one in six (16%) metro migrants is returning to the county of birth.

Prior residence thus accounts for a small portion of the extensive ties migrants had in the area of destination prior to moving. Other types of ties were found to be much more prevalent. Three-fourths of all migrants knew someone in the destination area prior to moving, and these were primarily close friends and relatives. Surprisingly, however, less than 10% of the migrants had children in the area. Even among the older (over 55) segments of the samples, those more likely to have older children and thus more likely to move to be nearer grown children, relatively few (13%) of the metro migrants had children in the area. Thus, we can conclude that much of the metro-nonmetro stream is directed to areas in which there are friendship and kinship ties, but apparently not toward areas where children are residing.

#### Consideration of Destination Alternatives

It is generally assumed that the relocation decision is made after a search for and evaluation of alternative sites. Once the decision to move is made some thought is given to alternative destination possibilities. A choice is then made on the basis of various place utility considerations. Migrants are assumed to have some freedom of destination choice and to formally consider alternatives. Actual research data on destination selection however, suggests that relatively few migrants give serious consideration to more than one place prior to moving.

Relatively few of either sample of migrants in our survey considered moving to a different place--about 17% of each migrant sample. Most of those



who had, considered other places in the state and in other states; very few (10%) considered other places in the current county of residence (data not presented).

Ties and contacts in an area are also a mitigating factor in destination searching. Those who had lived in the area previously were much less likely to consider alternatives than those who had not, as were those who owned housing or property in the area, or had friends, relatives and acquaintances in the area prior to moving. Ties and contacts are thus quite important influences in destination choice. They are functional as well. Over 60% of each migrant sample reported that contacts they had in the destination provided some help during or after the move, in the form of assisting with the actual move, providing temporary housing, helping to locate housing, meet others, or in a wide variety of other ways.



## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In summary, the data point strongly in the direction of a different motivational base underlying the new migration trend. The present findings for the metro migrants are in sharp contrast to the prevailing research on reasons for migrating, and in contrast to the findings reported for the nonmetro movers in the survey. The fact that we reach a similar conclusion even after limiting the analysis to that portion of the sample for which labor models of migration are assumed to be most applicable, suggests that at least for the immigration metro-origin portion of the growth in nonmetropolitan areas, labor mobility models have limited utility. They do, however, seem to explain a large portion of the immigration of migrants from other nonmetropolitan areas.

As others have argued, our data show that there are different explanations for the new metro-nonmetro migration stream: employment, retirement, the amenities of more rural areas, and dissatisfaction with urban areas. By and large, though, the movement is rooted in nonemployment considerations. This is substantiated by our comparisons of reasons given for moving by the metro and nonmetro samples, for both the total sample and the portion of the sample composed of households with working-age heads. An attempt to validate the findings by examining some of the assumed logical concomitants of moving for environmental and employment-related reasons, provides additional evidence for arguing that the new migration to nonmetro areas is being generated by motivations different from those which have characterized long distance moves in the past. And, we might add, which are different from those characterizing the nonmetro-nonmetro migration stream currently.

To those who have been researching and speculating on the current population turnaround phenomenon, the present findings are perhaps more



documentary than surprising. Despite distortions in the popular press, there has been in recent years a growing awareness among researchers that population turnaround in nonmetropolitan areas involves more than simply industrial decentralization, super-suburbanization or retirement migration. Of course, the underlying catalyst for recent trends may be the enhanced capacity of nonmetropolitan areas for employing new residents. However, our data suggest rather strongly that migrants, especially those leaving metropolitan areas, tend to view their behavior in the context of the relative merits of urban versus rural living.

For students of migration in general, our data suggest that traditional conceptualizations about motivations for migration are inadequate, at least for the inflow to our study counties from metropolitan areas. The presumption that migration stems from economically-based, rational evaluations of opportunities may in part explain why post-1970 population turnaround has occasionally been referred to as an "unanticipated" trend.

Our examination of overall dissatisfaction with the prior residence has failed to uncover any widespread dislike among the metro migrants for the places they left. In this regard they are no different from the sample of nonmetro migrants, among whom we did not detect any widespread dissatisfaction. The attributes at places of origin which elicited the highest levels of satisfaction among the metro migrants reflect the amenities frequently associated with living in large urban areas--shopping facilities, medical care, employment. In general, the satisfaction data suggest that the new migration may be less a function of the diminished attractiveness of urban areas than is widely assumed. Those moving for what we have termed environmental "push" reasons are the most dissatisfied with the prior



residence, but as we have seen in the reason analysis section this is only slightly more than a fourth of the metro migrants. The new migration trend is clearly being fueled by more than a general dissatisfaction with urban life.

The data on destination selection are striking in several respects. We have seen that metro migrants give substantially different reasons for selecting a particular destination than they do for moving, confirming our earlier suggestion that the two decisions are distinct and not opposite sides of the same coin. We have also seen that metro migrants' destination choices are motivated by quite different concerns than the nonmetro migrants'. Metro migrants attach a high level of importance to ties in the destination area--regardless of the reason they give for moving. Even more striking are the low proportions of those moving for environmental reasons who choose destinations for employment reasons. They are obviously the least economically motivated of the metro migrants. The pattern for the nonmetro migrants is not as defined as it is for the metro migrants, but it is clear that ties are not as dominant in destination selection as they are for the metro migrants. Employment and environmental factors are the primary destination selection criteria.

The data on destination selection raise questions about the assumed importance of economic and employment factors in the decision on where to move, and about the extent to which current migrants can be characterized as a "floating population," settling where it desires. Those moving for employment reasons basically relocate in areas selected for employment potential. For those moving for reasons other than employment, ties to a destination area are of paramount importance. We thus see that as was the case for the decision to move, metro migrants are motivated by noneconomic-nonemployment



considerations in choosing a destination.

There is, however, some question of whether these data together constitute a test of the "floating population" hypothesis which has been interpreted to mean that individuals are essentially free to move where they desire. Freedom to move where one desires and choosing a destination on the basis of pre-existing ties are not completely antithetical notions, requiring only an assumption that people desire to be living in places where they have ties. If this is the case, it does raise questions about how different the current new migration is from what has been observed in migration surveys predating the "rural renaissance." Ties in or to destination areas have traditionally been cited as an important factor in relocation decisions. The difference with the new migration, however, may lie in the actual destination selection process. It may well be that metro migrants are realizing their desires even while relocating in areas with which they have ties. It is conceivable that migrants have had a variety of ties in different potential destination areas. For the recent moves, however, the subset of ties and destination areas which took on increased importance were those in more rural locations. Thus while ties may be as important in the new migration as they have been in past migrations, the more salient ties for migrants currently are those which exist in rural destinations, or which have been established for preretirement reasons years ago.

We have thus seen that ties to the current area were an important factor in choosing the destination, and migrants had a wide variety of ties to their new residences. Mostly, though, migrants are choosing areas where they have friends and relatives or acquaintances. Some, but not many, are moving to areas where they have children, own land or housing, or with which they are familiar by virtue of having lived there before.



## Chapter IV

### MIGRATION AND CHANGING HOUSEHOLD CONDITIONS

Frederick C. Fliegel and James D. Williams

Having presented some background information on the migrants themselves, and having described where they came from and where they have gone, plus some of their reasons for moving, we now turn to some of the consequences of migration for the individuals and households involved. The range of possible consequences which we might consider is almost infinite, given that our attention is focused on households which have substantially changed the settings in which day to day life is carried out. Our analysis is restricted to only a few spheres which we assume to be most important in understanding the migration process. Throughout the chapter we have cast the discussion in gain versus loss terms. We are assuming that migration is undertaken to better satisfy desires and to enhance opportunities (Brown and Maleski, 1977). We try to take differences in desires into account in estimating whether gains have been achieved.

In the first two sections of this chapter we describe some possible economic consequences of the move. The first of the two sections is devoted to job consequences, and the second to income. In both sections we are concentrating attention on the historically dominant theme in studies of migration, the emphasis on employment security and financial gain as critical elements in the decision-making process. To what extent are employment and income gains, or losses, actually experienced by these migrants? Then, in the third major section of the chapter we turn to questions of gain or loss in the "quality of life" sphere. At that point we are basing our analysis on the proposition, substantially documented in the preceding chapter, that noneconomic factors are of substantial importance in accounting for migration to the rapidly growing rural areas we have sampled. Our concern, in that third section, is the extent to which migrants perceive themselves as having gained or lost with respect to several aspects of quality of life. Finally, in the fourth and last section of the chapter, we describe changes in



in type of housing and ownership-rental patterns. There, again, we will approach the topic from a gain/loss perspective, though our data on housing are rather limited.

As will become apparent in the discussion below, some of our data are more amenable to scrutiny at the level of the individual, and some at the level of the household. In order to avoid confusion in progressing from one section to the next it may<sup>be</sup> useful to recall that our sample is a sample of households. Individuals were of course interviewed and asked to provide information about the household and themselves as well. In addition, married respondents were asked questions about their spouses. For all married couples, we have arbitrarily designated the male as head of household, and in some of the analyses, such as the one immediately following, we have presented information separately for heads and spouses. In other sections the perspective is that of the household, or of the individual who was interviewed.

#### Employment, Unemployment and Type of Job

In Chapter I we briefly described the employment status of all respondents at the time of the interview. Then in Chapter 3 we noted that employment opportunities were frequently mentioned as a reason for moving, especially by migrants coming from nonmetropolitan areas. Here we expand our focus in order to deal with the question: what has resulted from the move in terms of shifts into or out of the labor market? In order to consider this question, two data presentations are made. The first is concerned with changes in labor force participation which occurred among the immigrants between the time just prior to moving and the time of the interview. We rely on data for heads of households (male, plus some fe-single/males) and spouses (exclusivley females) considered separately. In the second presentation, we restrict the analysis to those people who were holding or actively seeking jobs just prior to moving and construct an employment history



which contains three reference periods; just prior to the move, just after the move, and at the time of the interview, 1977. Because of questionnaire design, this second analysis relies on data for respondents only, by sex.

### Employment Status

Table 4.1, below, presents a comparison of migrants' employment status before moving, and at the time of the interview in 1977. The table shows, in general, a fairly marked disjuncture in employment status attendant on changing residences, especially among those of metropolitan origins. The largest net changes, for both the heads of households and their spouses, and especially for those coming from metro areas, are decreases in the proportions employed full or part-time and increases in the proportions who are retired. This is not surprising since we have earlier noted that metro migrants tend to be older than nonmetro migrants, and that for a substantial number of migrants from metropolitan areas, retirement was cited as a reason for making the move. Among metro origin heads of households, the proportion who are retired rises from 17 percent before the move, to one-third in 1977. For their spouses, the proportion retired slightly more than doubles, from six to 14 percent.

[Table 4.1 about here]

Among those coming from nonmetropolitan areas, similar shifts can be observed, though retirement, overall, is less of a factor. For household heads, the proportion retired climbs from 10 percent before the move to 20 percent at the time of the interview and from three to nine percent for their spouses. In part, the trend toward rising proportions retired among both groups would be expected given the numbers and proportions of older persons in the samples and the passage of time. It is difficult to infer from these data exactly when retirement took place, whether at the time of the move, or later after a few years of involvement, possibly part-time, in the local labor market at the area of destination. We will look at this question more closely in the next data presentation.



Table 4.1. Employment Status of Migrants Before the Move, and in 1977.

Employment Status	Metro Migrants		Nonmetro Migrants	
	Household Heads Before	Spouses 1977	Household Heads Before	Spouses 1977
Employed (full-time or part-time)	72	61	76	71
Temporarily unemployed	5	2	6	5
Retired	17	33	10	20
Not employed, not looking for work	7	4	8	5
N =	492	501	202	208

..... percent .....



A final point should be made about the data in Table 4.1. It is clear that full or part-time employment of spouses is important for migrant families from both metro and nonmetro origins. Since the spouse category here is female by definition, we would have to conclude that female labor force participation is an important part of the domestic economy of these households. Depending of course on migrant type and point of time reference, between a third and nearly one-half of spouses are or were employed either full or part-time. Data not displayed document that more than half of these employed females, regardless of group or time, are employed full-time.

As indicated in our introductory remarks, we are able to provide even more detailed information on changes in employment status as a function of migration for a portion of our respondents. These data, in Table 4.2, describe employment status at three points in time for male and female respondents who were in the labor force just before moving. About 70 percent of the females represented in Table 4.2 are respondents who are married, and the remaining 30 percent are female heads of households. The change in basis for the two tables is a consequence of an inadvertent failure to ask respondents to indicate employment status of spouse just after the move. Thus we cannot make the three time-point comparison for the larger number of cases represented in Table 4.1, but we can, nevertheless, gain some insights from the more restricted sample.

[Table 4.2 about here]

The data in Table 4.2 clearly demonstrate that for males and females from metropolitan areas, and to a lesser extent for males coming from other nonmetropolitan areas, retirement took place at the time of the move and is a major factor in explaining the declining proportions of respondents in the labor force. Though retirement is fairly common among metro origin females, it is also apparent from these data that females of both migrant types tend to drop out of the labor force for other reasons and stay out. For females from metropolitan areas, we note that



Table 4.2. Employment Status Before, Just After the Move, and in 1977 for Respondents in the Labor Force Before the Move.

Employment Status	Metro Migrants				Nonmetro Migrants							
	Males (N=173)		Females (N=104)		Males (N=74)		Females (N=38)		Males (N=74)		Females (N=38)	
	Before	After	1977	Before	After	1977	Before	After	1977	Before	After	1977
					</							

..... Percent .....



there are 32 percent not employed and not looking for work just after the move. For females from nonmetropolitan origins, the comparable figure is 29 percent. And, for both migrant types of females, the proportion not employed and not looking for work drops only a few percentage points by 1977, to 29 percent for those from metro areas, and to 21 percent for those coming from other nonmetropolitan areas.

The proportions employed full or part-time show a very clear pattern over time for males and females of both migrant types. From rather high initial levels, the proportion drops just after the move to rather low levels and then rises by 1977. For all migrants, this rise in proportions full or part-time employed is substantially due to the re-entry into employment of those who were temporarily unemployed just after moving. For instance, among metro origin males, the percentage who were employed full or part-time was 94 just before moving. Six percent were temporarily unemployed. Just after the move, only 58 percent were employed and temporary unemployment rose to 17 percent with most of the rest of the respondents having retired. By 1977, however, while the proportions for both the retired and those not looking for work remained almost the same as observed just after the move, temporary unemployment drops to two percent of the total, and full or part-time employment rises to 72 percent. This pattern is especially evident for males and females from metropolitan areas and for females from nonmetropolitan areas, and we must conclude that for a significant proportion of these immigrants, there was a period of unemployment in the destination area before starting to work. Whether this is voluntary and quite temporary unemployment to permit "settling in" at the new location, or actually involves some difficulty in finding employment we simply don't know. It would appear, however, that those who want employment are successful in finding it since very few were temporarily unemployed by 1977.

Another possible impact of migration might be noted by its relative absence from the pattern shown in Table 4.2. There is little reason to suspect, from



these data, that large numbers of formerly unemployed migrants have moved into these high growth areas to solve their job problems. Indeed, relatively few of these migrants were temporarily unemployed prior to the move. The general picture is one of quite active labor force involvement, and in most cases a job change, the nature of which will be explored in the next section.

### Occupational Prestige

In addition to changes in employment status, one can raise another type of impact question: does migration result in upward mobility, in the sense of shifting people into higher status jobs than they had before the move, or does it result in downward mobility? That question is rather difficult to answer for our samples as a whole because of the movement out of and back into the labor force described in the preceding section. In addition, substantial numbers of people in our samples have retired and are thus outside the framework of a discussion of occupational prestige changes. Nevertheless, we can make a comparison of changes in job prestige for respondents, both male and female, who were employed before moving and in 1977 as well. Roughly half of each migrant sample is simply ignored for the present comparison as a result.

Table 4.3 displays the percentages of both metro and nonmetro movers who have moved up in occupational prestige, moved down, or remained at the same level, when their jobs before moving are compared with their 1977 jobs. Occupational prestige is here measured in terms of a widely used prestige ranking (Reiss, et al., 1961) which arrays the occupational labels used by the U.S. Bureau of the Census on a zero to 100 scale. A carpenter's helper, for example, is scored 07, while a bank teller is scored 51, and a physician is scored 93. Metro movers, again, show more evidence of a migration related impact on their job than do nonmetro migrants. Less than half of the metro migrants have stayed at the same level of occupational prestige, while the other half are evenly split



Table 4.3. Changes in Migrants' Occupational Prestige Before Moving Compared with 1977.

Changes in Occupational Prestige:	Respondent Group	
	Metro Movers (N=200)	Nonmetro Movers (N=110)
	..... Percent .....	
1977 Occupation Higher	28	23
No Change	46	62
1977 Occupation lower	27	16



between upward and downward movement. In contrast, the proportion of nonmetro migrants reporting 1977 jobs at the same level as their pre-move jobs is considerably higher (at 62%) than is the case for metro migrants (46%), with almost one-fourth of the nonmetro migrants having moved up and only 16 percent having moved down. Nonmetro migrants can be described, in general, as having stayed at the same job level or having moved up as a consequence of the move. They are net "gainers" in terms of job prestige and this is broadly consistent with the prominence of job-related reasons for moving among nonmetro respondents. One can see confirmation here of the earlier documented finding that many of them moved in order to take a better job. For the metro migrants, who were more likely to have moved for other-than-job reasons, there is more change in job prestige both up and down, and on the whole they would have to be described as holding their own, in that the proportion moving up is only slightly larger than the proportion moving down (28 versus 27%). On the other hand, since over one-fourth have been downwardly mobile, there is some support here for the commonly held view of the new migration as having an "anti-success" component.

We will not go into detail on the nature of the changes in occupational prestige here. A more thorough examination of these data shows, however, that the changes in occupational prestige are not radical. More importantly, the changes in occupational prestige, either up or down, are quite comparable in nature for the two migrant samples. Here it may be useful to recall the brief description of current occupations for the two samples presented in Chapter I. The differences between metro and nonmetro migrants were not great, and both groups were shown to be rather heavily involved in white collar occupations, as is typical of migrants in general (Shaw, 1975:24). The modest net upward shift in occupational prestige we have described in this section for the nonmetro movers serves to reinforce the established pattern of white collar employment.



A typical change, for either type of migrant, might be movement from employment as a skilled artisan to a job as supervisor over several such artisans, a significant change for the person involved but not a radical shift. In any case, the impact of migration on the occupational prestige of the continuously employed migrants under scrutiny here, though not great, seems to be in the direction of upward movement, especially for the nonmetro sample. The next section, dealing with income changes, shows more evidence of downward shifting, but <sup>that</sup> in/analysis we are dealing with the total samples again, including retirees.

### Income Changes

The possible impact of migration on income will be examined at two levels. As a matter of convenience we are calling these levels "short run," and "long run." The short run comparison contrasts incomes in the year before the move with the year immediately after the move, and the long run comparison simply compares pre-move income with 1976 income. Parenthetically, we might note here that we did not obtain an income figure for the year just after the move. Instead we asked a more/less/same question in which migrants were asked to compare their income just after the move with their income in the year before the move. The result is that we cannot make an actual income comparison for three time points. In the comparisons we do make, the referent is always total family income. Our use of family income presents certain problems in that family and household composition may well have changed in the me span involved here, a maximum of six years depending on time of move. Nevertheless, for our purposes, the income data available permit certain interesting comparisons.

#### Short-Run Income Changes

Having already described a migration-related disjuncture in employment status in the preceding section, it would be reasonable to expect a similar pattern for income changes in the short-run. Specifically, for metro migrants, who were more



likely than nonmetro migrants to have shifted out of the labor force in conjunction with the move, one would expect reduced income in the year following the move to be a fairly common experience. And that is the case, as shown in Table 4.4. Half of the metro migrants stated that their total household income was lower in the year following the move than it had been before moving. This compares with 28 percent of the nonmetro migrants who stated that post-move incomes were lower than before the move. Nonmetro migrants were considerably more likely to have remained at the same income level or to have moved up, as shown by the proportions in the second and third rows of Table 4.4. In general, however, both respondent groups apparently experienced some move-related income disjuncture and, apart from questions related to retirement incomes, we would expect the disjuncture to be temporary, reflecting the apparently temporary employment disjuncture discussed above.

[Table 4.4 about here]

#### Long-Run Income Changes

In this section we present, first, a comparison of pre-move and current (1976) household incomes for the two migrant groups, and, second, a more detailed analysis of income changes which compares early and late movers. The latter analysis represents an attempt to gain somewhat greater insight into the pattern of temporary loss and recovery which we have been describing. Specifically, migrants who moved into these growth areas in the early '70s have had more time to re-establish their domestic economies than later migrants, and should therefore be better off economically than later migrants.

That pre-move household income levels have at least been re-established by 1976 is fairly clearly documented by the distributions shown in Table 4.5. The nonmetro movers, especially, can be described as higher in income by 1976 than before the move, on average, in spite of the fact that a substantial fraction (28 %) had reported a decrease in income immediately after the move. The



Table 4.4. Percent of Migrant Respondents, by Group, Reporting Income Loss or Gain for the Year After the Move.

---

Percent Whose Income in year After move was ...	Respondent Groups	
	Metro Migrants (N=480)	Nonmetro Migrants (N=199)
	..... Percent .....	
Less than move	50	28
The same as before	30	41
More than before move	20	31

---



income disjuncture for nonmetro movers seems to be temporary, then, though we have not attempted to take into account the effects of inflation on the buying power of the incomes reported. For metro migrants the pattern of change in income levels is somewhat more complex, as shown in the first two columns of Table 4.5. There are larger proportions of metro migrants in the higher income categories in 1976 than before the move, which suggests that they too have experienced only a temporary loss as a result of moving. The lower income categories also show an increase, however, which corresponds to the substantial shift of metro movers into retirement noted earlier. Apart from the question of retirement and the income needs of retired persons, a topic which will not be pursued here (see Chapter IX for details on the elderly), the metro migrants can also be said to have experienced only a temporary income disjuncture as a result of moving. In general, the 1976 income distributions for the two types of migrants are quite similar. The aggregate pattern for metro migrants, however, is one of increasing income diversity over time, with larger proportions of households at both income extremes (for a more general picture of migration related income changes see Kiker and Traynham, 1977).

[Table 4.5 about here]

Table 4.5 contains some further information which is noteworthy, although it is not directly related to the question of migration's impact on the mover. Perusal of the distribution of cases over the several income categories, for both respondent groups, and either before the move or in 1976, will lead to the conclusion that these migrants, in general, seem to be drawn heavily from the middle and lower-middle income strata of the population as a whole. A few rough comparisons may be in order, just to make the point. In 1974, which is about halfway between the pre-move period and 1976, 12.4 percent of U.S. (white) families reported incomes above \$25,000 (U.S. Fact Book, 1976). This compares with 6 percent of our metro migrants, and 9 percent of nonmetro migrants in 1976, without taking inflation



Table 4.5. Percent of Migrant Respondents, by Group, in Various Household Income Categories Before Move and in 1976.

Total Household Income:	Total Household Income			
	Metro Migrants		Nonmetro Migrants	
	Before Moving (N=439)	In 1976 (N=454)	Before Moving (N=185)	In 1976 (N=200)
	..... Percent .....			
\$5,000 or less	15	21	21	21
\$5,001 to \$10,000	25	27	29	25
\$10,001 to \$15,000	31	24	29	24
\$15,001 to \$20,000	16	14	10	15
\$20,001 to \$25,000	8	8	5	7
Over \$25,000	5	6	5	10



into account. At the other extreme, 33 percent of U.S. (white) families reported incomes of \$10,000 or less in 1974, compared with 48 percent and 45 percent for metro and nonmetro migrants, respectively, in 1976. There is little doubt but that both of our migrant samples are typically at a relatively modest income level, and this is the case in spite of the fact that they are over-represented, by general population standards, in the so-called "higher", white-collar, occupations. Their reported household incomes are somewhat lower than average by general U.S. standards, though of course higher than the incomes of our rural resident sample (see Chapter I). This fact should be kept in mind in interpreting the data obtained from these samples on housing, jobs, taxes, and so on, throughout this report. We are not dealing here with relatively well to do "exurbanites" of the type described by Sectorsky (1955). As a matter of fact, our migrant samples may well be typical of migrants to nonmetro areas, who tend, on average, to be somewhat less highly qualified than migrants going from nonmetro to metro areas (Zuiches and Brown, 1978:66).

In Table 4.6 we have displayed a somewhat abbreviated picture of shifts between income categories after having divided the respondent groups into two categories: early movers, who come into the growth counties between 1970 and 1973, and later movers, who came into the growth counties in 1974 or later. We expected that the early movers, with more time to re-establish themselves in the new setting, would be less likely to report a negative impact on household income in the comparison of 1976 with pre-move incomes.

[Table 4.6 about here]

The data in Table 4.6 generally support the idea that the negative impact of the move on household income is temporary, and that more years in the new setting allow time for recovery to take place. Early movers, of both migrant types, described in the upper half of the table, are disproportionately represented in the "More" column when compared with later movers, in the lower half of the table. Early movers with relatively low pre-move incomes are more likely to report increased income by 1976, and those with higher pre-move incomes are less likely to report income losses, when compared with later movers.



Table 4.6 Change in Household Income, Pre-Move Versus 1976, for Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Migrants.  
by Recency of Move.

Pre-move income by early vs. late migration	Metro Migrants				Nonmetro Migrants			
	Percent whose 1976 income is:		No. of cases		Percent whose 1976 income is:		No. of cases	
	Less	The same	More	Percent ...	Less	The same	More	Percent ...
Early movers, who came into growth counties between 1970 and 1973.	-	47	53	38	-	41	59	17
	16	40	44	55	10	24	67	21
	35	38	27	71	30	45	25	20
	32	68	-	56	38	63	-	16
Later movers, who came into growth counties between 1974 and 1977.	-	65	35	26	-	55	46	22
	31	41	29	49	12	61	27	33
	40	37	23	65	21	32	47	34
	55	45	-	67	27	73	-	22



The pattern described is quite consistent for the metro migrants but not entirely consistent for the nonmetro migrants. Early nonmetro migrants in the higher income categories are somewhat more likely than later nonmetro migrants to report lower than pre-move incomes for 1976. Why this should be so is not clear from the data at hand, but it suggests a negative and persistent income impact from the move for at least some nonmetro migrants. On the other hand, late nonmetro migrants are less likely to report a negative income impact than late metro migrants. This is consistent with the data on job impacts in the earlier section of this chapter, i.e. nonmetro migrants are less likely to experience economic disjuncture as a result of moving.

#### Gains and Losses in Quality of Life

Our third major focus for assessing the impact of migration on the migrants themselves involves the question of gains or losses in what we are calling "quality of life." We are well aware that quality of life is a highly subjective matter. That which is valued by one person may be trivial or even repugnant to another. The data we have stem from questions, frequently used in assessments of quality of life, which were designed to pinpoint at least a few "desirable" characteristics of places in which people live. The questions asked migrants whether they felt their new setting had more of a particular quality, the same amount, or less than the place from which they had moved.

The questions we used to characterize quality of life are paraphrased in Table 4.7 and the results of our analysis are shown there. We have omitted from the table the proportions who said the former residence was better in order to simplify the data presentation. The proportion of metro migrants who report a gain in quality of life as a result of the move, shown in the first column of Table 4.7, is high both in absolute terms and relative to nonmetro migrants, and that is entirely consistent with the fact that metro migrants were more prone to have



given quality of life reasons for making the move. The impact of the move, for metro migrants, is generally a perceived net gain in quality of life. Nonmetro migrants, however, are considerably less likely to say that their current residence is "better" on the items listed in the table than the place they left. Two reasons might be listed for the disparity between metro and nonmetro migrants. First, and most obvious, is the fact that nonmetro migrants were more likely to have moved for job reasons, thus potential gains in quality of life would have had a lower priority for them. Second, however, the inherent potential for gain (or loss) on at least some of the quality of life criteria was less for nonmetro than metro migrants. Nonmetro migrants moved from one rural area to another and, in addition, they were considerably more likely than metro migrants to have moved from a nearby county into the high-growth counties (Chapter II). In other words, nonmetro migrants are more likely to have moved between generally similar places, thus gains in quality of life are less likely for them, and this is reflected in the higher proportions responding "same here as there."

[Table 4.7 about here]

The items in Table 4.7 are arranged in four broad groupings, describing different aspects of quality of life. Four items, at the head of the list in the table, refer to feelings of personal well-being and safety. As expected, migrants from metropolitan areas perceive their new rural setting as friendlier, safer, and so on. This is consistent with popular conceptions of the positive aspects of a rural environment. Only the "closer to family" question elicited a similar response from the two migrant groups, both tending to report a net loss on that point (for more detail on kin and other social ties, see Chapter V ). The next two items, on environment and weather, again show the metro migrants as more likely to report gains. Metro migrants almost universally regard the environment of the new place as healthier, but in the case of weather, less than half of either type of migrant report gains. Here, again, the high proportions of "same here as there"



Table 4.7. Migrants' Responses to "Quality of Life Questions."

"Quality of Life " Questions...	Respondent Group			
	Metro Migrant*		Nonmetro Migrants*	
	More so here	Same here as there	More so here	Same here as there
	- Percent -		- Percent -	
The neighbors are friendlier	57	29	34	41
I feel safer	82	15	45	42
I am closer to family	38	15	38	23
There is more privacy	75	8	51	20
The environment is healthier	91	6	49	35
The weather is better	44	32	29	53
It's a better place to raise children	87	6	58	13
The schools are better	44	20	35	27
Tax rates are lower	68	12	33	21
It costs less to live	43	25	30	26

\* Percentages shown are based on total samples of each migrant type, with slight variation in number of cases for each question due to non-response.



responses for both migrant types are consistent with the dominantly intra-regional character of the moves (Chapter 2). Weather differences within the North Central region are not striking.

Turning again to Table 4.7, two items refer to quality of life with respect to child rearing and schools. Again, metro migrants are more likely than non-metro migrants to perceive the new residence as better than the old on these items. Even for schools, which are not generally viewed as among the strongest assets of rural communities when compared with cities, a sizable minority of metro migrants (44 %) stated that schools were better in the new, rural setting. Only 24 percent felt that schools were better in the former, urban residence.

Finally, the last two items in Table 4.7 describe perceptions of tax rates and living costs. Metro migrants, as expected, are much more likely than non-metro migrants to say that taxes are lower in the new setting than in the old. A similar, but less pronounced contrast is apparent for perceived cost of living, the last item in the table. Metro migrants are more likely than nonmetro migrants to perceive themselves as "gainers" on cost of living. On this particular item, however, we had expected a solid majority of metro migrants to express the feeling that living costs were lower in their new setting. While it is true that economic motives were not of paramount importance as reasons for the migration from metropolitan areas, there are strong reasons to suppose that average living costs in rural areas are less than in big cities. Only 43 percent of the metro migrants felt that costs were lower in their chosen rural area, however, 25 percent saw no difference, and the balance (32 %, not shown in the table) felt that living costs were lower in the old, metro place of residence. It is possible that the fairly severe inflation of recent years would tend to make earlier living costs in the city seem less high relative to current costs in the rural area. Metro migrants may also find themselves spending substantial sums in order to maintain an urban lifestyle in these more rural areas. Alternatively, our expectation that metro migrants



would perceive living costs as lower may stem from a misperception on our part of life in the country (but see, for example, Mikesell, 1977, on metro versus nonmetro housing costs). At this point we simply do not know why these respondents said what they did in answer to the question.

In general, we can conclude from Table 4.7 that migrants from metropolitan areas feel that they have gained in quality of life in the high-growth rural counties. For them, the impact of the move has been positive. Amenities were of lesser importance as reasons for moving among nonmetro migrants, and they are also much less likely to perceive that they have gained in this respect by making the move. Nor are the nonmetro migrants necessarily losers, or negatively impacted, with respect to quality of life, we should add. Nonmetro migrants were consistently more likely than metro migrants to give the equivocal response indicating no difference between old and new places of residence. Thus we conclude that nonmetro migrants, in comparison to metro migrants, tend neither to gain nor lose very much in quality of life by moving. They experience less quality of life impact, and most probably because the rural areas from which they moved were much like the growth counties on the characteristics around which we phrased questions.

#### Housing and Tenure Changes

One of the major motivations underlying local moving, as distinct from migration, is the desire to change housing. Migration hinges on different motivating forces (see Chapter III), but housing change is involved in the process, by definition. Frequently such changes coincide with vertical social mobility and life cycle changes. We can't determine directly for how many of the migrants a housing change may have been a precondition of the move, though housing was not frequently cited as a reason for leaving or for selecting a destination. Nor can we determine the full extent of mobility and life cycle changes. What we can do is determine to what extent housing and tenure changes accompanied the move.



We can address, for example, the question of how many migrants lived in each type of housing in the former and current residences, and how many sought a type of housing different from that in which they lived prior to the move. On the whole we would expect "gains" for the migrants over time, in the sense of higher proportions in single family conventional housing and increases in how ownership as well.

#### Housing, Before and After

In both the former and current places of residence a majority of households in both migrant samples lived in conventional single-family dwellings (Table 4.8). There is little scope for "gain" here, as a matter of fact, since most migrants already lived in the generally preferred single-family type of dwelling before the move. The samples differ somewhat on the second most frequently cited type of residence, with almost one-fourth of the metropolitan movers living in apartments and duplexes and an eighth of the nonmetropolitan movers living in mobile homes in the former residence. This difference probably reflects little more than metro-nonmetro differences in availability of these respective types of housing. A close look at the proportions living in these two types of housing combined will show that they are relatively stable categories across both residences, and for both samples, suggesting they may be equivalent types of housing. A cross-tabulation of type of housing in former and current residence supports this argument (Table 4.9). For both samples of migrants, apartment and mobile home dwellers are the two groups least likely to move into single family dwellings, and most likely to end up in apartments or mobile homes in their destination residence. The table also shows considerable "upward" movement into single-family dwellings, but we must note that there were relatively few families in the multiple and mobile home categories prior to the move, for either sample.

[Tables 4.8 and 4.9 about here]

A further examination of Table 4.8 will show a fairly close correspondence between the proportions of migrants who sought a particular type of housing and



Table 4.8 Type of housing in former residence, type sought in destination, and type in current residence, by migrant status

Housing type	Metro migrants			Nonmetro migrants		
	Pre-move housing	Type of housing sought	Current housing	Pre-move housing	Type of housing sought	Current housing
	.... Percent ....			.... Percent ....		
Single family conventional	72	79	81	75	70	76
Multiple family	23	6	5	12	11	10
Mobile home	5	9	14	12	12	15
Other (rooming house, etc.)	1	6	1	1	7	-
N =	501	432	501	208	181	207



Table 4.9 Former and current housing type, by migrant group

Former type of housing	Metro movers - Current housing			Total	No. of Cases
	Single family conventional	Multiple family	Mobile home		
		.... Percent ....			
Single family conventional	87	2	11	100	358
Multiple family	73	12	15	100	114
Mobile home	48	9	44	100	23
	Non metro movers - Current housing			Total	No. of Cases
	Single family conventional	Multiple family	Mobile home		
		.... Percent ....			
Single family conventional	81	8	11	100	156
Multiple family	67	29	4	100	24
Mobile home	52	-	48	100	25



the proportions in the various types in the post-move residence. For both samples a slightly higher proportion is in single family housing and mobile homes than sought those types of housing, and a slightly smaller proportion is in apartments than sought apartments. There are, however, no major discrepancies. All of this would lead one to conclude that most migrants are satisfied with their housing and most found what they wanted. We did not ask the migrants whether they were able to find the desired type of housing in a preferred location. Gain or loss on locational preferences remains an open question.

Looking at the distribution of migrants in each type of housing across the two locations (Table 4.8), we see that for the metro movers there was an increase in proportions living in conventional single family units and in mobile homes: only 5 percent had lived in mobile homes previously, now 14 percent do, and while 72 percent formerly lived in single family units, now 81 percent do. For the non-metropolitan migrants the distributions across various housing types in the two locations are practically identical. What shifts are evident in the data seem to confirm that for the nonmetro migrants at least, the move did not have a shift in type of housing as one of the major underlying motives. There is some shifting taking place among the metro migrants, as evidenced by the decrease in apartment living and an increase in mobile home living, and the shift from these two types of housing to single family dwellings. Thus, for some portion of the metropolitan movers the move represented not only a geographical change, but a change in type of housing as well, with some modest upgrading in type of housing. The general pattern for nonmetro migrants, in Table 4.8, shows little change.

#### Tenure Status and Tenure Changes

For both migrant samples the move also involved tenure shifts for many households; in both cases there were substantial changes in the proportions owning and renting their housing (Table 4.10). In the current residence there is an increase (18%) in proportion of households in each migrant group owning their homes, and



corresponding decreases in renting. A cross-tabulation (not presented) of tenure in the former residence with current tenure status shows, for both samples, that regardless of former tenure status, most movers currently own their housing, and that tenure status in the former residence has only a slight influence on changes in the pattern of owning or renting in the current location. As one might expect, households which had formerly rented are much more disposed toward renting in the current residence than those who had owned their housing. Even with the high proportions of home ownership in the current residence, though, the two migrant samples fall short of the level of home ownership among area residents (90%). There is clear evidence of upward mobility nevertheless, since the proportions of both migrant samples owning their homes increased markedly after the move, as noted above. From a broader, comparative perspective, it also seems likely that the extent of home ownership for all three of our samples is high by national standards. Mikesell (1977) reports an average of 69 percent for owner-occupied residences in rapidly growing nonmetropolitan counties nationwide, using 1970 data. Our higher proportions may also result from the use of telephone subscription listings as a basis for sampling, however.

[Table 4.10 about here]

#### SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

We have examined several areas of potential impact of migration on the migrants themselves. Our findings are generally consistent with two somewhat different sets of ideas as explanations of the migration process, economic factors with respect to the nonmetropolitan migrants, and noneconomic factors with respect to migrants from metropolitan areas. Migrants from other rural areas tended to move for economic reasons and therefore experienced less and/or less lasting economic disruption as a result of the move, and they were more likely to experience long-run gain. They were less likely to perceive gains in quality of life. A positive impact on quality of life was typical of the responses of the metropolitan migrants, and they were more likely to have sought such gains in making the move. By the same



Table 4.10. Tenure status in former and current residence for migrants, and tenure status of area residents

Tenure status	Metro migrants		Nonmetro migrants		Long-term residents
	Former residence	Current residence	Former residence	Current residence	Current residence
	.... Percent ....				
Own housing	66	84	58	76	90
Rent	33	14	37	23	9
Live with relatives or employer provided housing	1	2	4	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N =	499	498	206	208	424



token, metro migrants were less likely to have tried to maximize economic benefits by moving and thus were more likely than the nonmetro migrants to experience at least a short-run disjuncture with respect to jobs and income. Both types of migrants seem to have upgraded their housing via the move and to have gained in achieving ownership of their homes. Housing and tenure changes weren't expected to be patterned in terms of the motivational differences (economic and noneconomic) stimulating migration for the two groups, at least not as directly as job and income versus quality of life indicators. Thus it is not inconsistent with our general argument that both groups appear to gain. Broadly speaking, both types of migrants can be described as holding their own or gaining, after some short-run disjunctures, and that gains stand out most clearly if one takes into account the differences in reasons for moving. We conclude that somewhat different sets of factors must be taken into account in explaining and understanding the consequences of migration, for migrants themselves, from metropolitan as against nonmetropolitan sources, at least with respect to migration into high-growth rural areas.



## Chapter V

### MIGRANT ADJUSTMENT AND INTEGRATION IN THE NEW RESIDENCE

Nina G. Stuart and Andrew J. Sofranko

In this chapter attention is focused on the broad issue of migrant adaptation to the new residence. Even if moves are voluntary and viewed favorably by individuals, residential change is initially disruptive, and costs, both monetary and social, are involved. The main issues we examine here are the extent and nature of adjustment problems metro migrants experience and the factors influencing their adjustment and integration.

Adjustment difficulties indicate problem areas for integration into the community and reflect on migrants' ability to meet their daily living needs in areas such as employment and consumer goods. Adjustment problems are likely to have a bearing upon whether residents perceive the new community as a satisfactory place in which to live, and subsequently on whether they would prefer to stay or leave. By examining specific adjustment difficulties of migrants, one can perhaps pinpoint some of the deficiencies of these high growth nonmetropolitan areas.

The analysis of adjustment proceeds by assessing migrants' perceptions of their overall adjustment difficulty. It then turns to specific adjustment difficulties and, finally, to what was felt to be the biggest adjustment difficulty. In order to get some idea of what the antecedents and consequences are of adjustment ease or difficulty, we will then look at how adjustment is related to migrants' pre-existing ties in the area of destination, to the degree of residential change involved in the move, migrants' reasons for moving, and to their sociodemographic characteristics. To provide some perspective on the uniqueness of the types of adjustment difficulties metro mi-



grants experience, they will be compared with the experiences of the nonmetro migrants, a group for whom we would expect adjustment to be lessened by virtue of their moves to similar environments.

Integration refers to the extent to which residents of an area are linked by ties of exchange in social, economic and political transactions, and has traditionally been indexed by measures of formal and informal participation, place of acquisition of consumer goods and services, and the presence or absence of friendships (Rossi, 1972). Further, the term implies that persons have developed a social anchorage in and an identity with their place of residence.

Questions on the integration issue are among those most frequently raised about the migration turnaround phenomenon. First, there is the question of how actively involved, organizationally and economically, migrants will become in the new area, and, second, whether migrants are likely to move again after a short period of time if they fail to become integrated. It is feared on the one hand that migrants will become "overintegrated" in their new residences, to the extent that they become heavily involved in community groups and activities, and on the other that they will fail to become integrated. If migrants do not integrate, economically, for example, benefits which would accrue to the destination area will be reduced, and, if overall integration does not occur, the rural population growth trend may be shortlived.

In addressing the question of migrants' integration into the community we will examine, in particular, residual integration, or the frequency and type of contact they maintain with the prior residence. Also, we will look at how closely migrant integration approximates that of the long-term residents of the area. Economic integration into the local service sector will be examined by comparing the migrants with residents on distances traveled



to obtain various services. Social integration will be examined via participation in community activities and affairs.

(Reger and Beegle, 1974)  
It has been suggested in previous research that integration is inhibited somewhat by the presence of family and friends who are relied upon for social interaction, to the extent that social bonds with other community residents are not as actively sought as otherwise would be the case. It is assumed, also, that new residents require a period of adaptation before their levels of participation in community activities equal those they had in the prior residence, or those of residents in the new location. To determine if the two above suppositions are correct, we conclude the section by examining participation in community activities in relation to preexisting ties in the area of destination and duration of residence.

#### ADJUSTMENT OF MIGRANTS IN THE NEW RESIDENCE

Apparently, few adjustment difficulties are involved in moving to a nonmetro residence. Approximately two-thirds of both the metro and nonmetro migrants reported that their "overall adjustment" in the new residence was "not difficult at all" (Table 5.1). Five percent or less felt it was "very difficult." Comparing the two migrant groups, we conclude that the metro migrants had only slightly greater difficulty, overall, than the nonmetro migrants in adjusting to the nonmetro residence. Still, it might be argued that the one-third reporting at least some difficulty in adjusting to their new residences represents a sizeable proportion of the migrants. Some of their specific adjustment difficulties will be addressed next.

[Table 5.1 about here]

Most long-distance migrants, regardless of the type of residential change involved, are assumed to experience some problems. For some it involves finding employment or the types of consumer goods they were accustomed



Table 5.1 Overall adjustment difficulty, by migrant type.

Overall difficulty in getting used to living in new residence	Migrant Type	
	Metro migrants	Nonmetro migrants
	(N = 500)	(N = 208)
	- - - - - percent - - - -	
"Very difficult"	5	5
"Somewhat difficult"	16	13
"Not very difficult"	12	13
"Not difficult at all"	67	69



to; for others, it may be establishing friendships or joining clubs and organizations. Further, many of the metro migrants are moving from larger to smaller communities, and, this being the case, we would expect that job opportunities and the quality and range of services in their new nonmetro residences probably do not compare equally with those they were accustomed to in the former residence. Therefore, finding employment or the desired type of employment and the availability of goods and services may represent adjustment problems in the nonmetro residence. Similarly, they may have difficulty in establishing friendships or in joining clubs and organizations. These would be especially problematic adjustments if the migrants have quite different life styles and beliefs and values than the residents of the areas in which they are locating.

All of the migrants were asked specifically whether they had any adjustment difficulty in the areas mentioned above and to indicate what was for them the biggest adjustment difficulty. The findings are reported in Table 5.2. The biggest adjustment difficulties for the metro and the nonmetro migrants alike were buying consumer goods they were accustomed to (22 and 16 % of the metro and nonmetro migrants, respectively) and getting good medical care (19 and 15 %, respectively). The discrepancy between the two migrant groups suggests that at least with regard to the provision of these two types of services metro and nonmetro areas are not identical. The nonmetro migrants, having originated in a more similar service environment, have had somewhat less difficulty in adjusting to these two particular services than the metro migrants.

[Table 5.2 about here] percent

Making new friends was the third area cited, with 8/ of the metro and 10 percent of the nonmetro migrants responding that this was their biggest



Table 5.2 Percent of Migrants With No Adjustment Problems and Distribution of Responses on Main Adjustment Difficulty for Those With Adjustment Problems, by Migrant Type.

Major adjustment difficulties	Migrant Type	
	Metro migrants (N = 501)	Nonmetro migrants (N = 208)
	- - - - - percent - - - - -	
1. Had no adjustment problems	36	45
2. Main difficulty for those with adjustment problems	64	55
a. Buying consumer goods	22	16
b. Getting good medical care	19	15
c. Making new friends	8	10
d. Finding a job	5	8
e. Joining clubs or organizations	1	1
f. Other problems	9	5



adjustment difficulty. The similarity of the proportions suggests that making new friends is probably simply a problem associated with moving rather than a problem associated with the type of migrant or the origins of the migrants. Few metro and nonmetro migrants report that finding a job was their main adjustment difficulty (5 and 8 %, respectively), which is somewhat surprising given that 10 percent of the metro migrants (Chapter IV ) reported that they were temporarily unemployed immediately after the move. Practically no one felt that joining clubs and organizations was their biggest adjustment difficulty, perhaps indicating the low priority among migrants on such activities, or that gaining membership was, in fact, no problem.

To summarize, even though a majority of the migrants felt that adjustment to living in the new residence was, over all, not difficult, when queried about specific problems, more than half of all the migrants indicated a particular problem or problems in adjusting to the new residence. It is worthy to note, also, that there are some sizeable differences between the two migrant groups, for example, the 10 percent difference between metro and nonmetro migrants in the proportions who had adjustment difficulties. This provides some support for our earlier expectation that nonmetro migrants by virtue of their similarity in residences at places of origin and destination would have been able to adjust somewhat more readily to the nonmetropolitan areas than the metro migrants. In terms of specific adjustments the two problem areas are getting good medical care and purchasing the types of consumer goods the migrants were used to purchasing. These are less serious problems for the nonmetro movers, but for them, too, they stand out among the other adjustments about which they were asked.



### Some Antecedents of Adjustment

In the following section we look at the influence of certain factors in facilitating or hindering adjustment. For the purpose of the following analysis, the four responses on the original overall adjustment difficulty measure were dichotomized into "no difficulty" or "some difficulty."

Migration research has emphasized the role of factors such as ties to the area of destination, the cultural disparity between residences, and distance moved, as well as a variety of socioeconomic and family influences on adjustment ease and difficulty. The general feeling in the research is that regardless of where migrants originated, those who had acquaintances in the/destination area experience less difficulty in adjusting to the new community than those who had not known anyone in the area prior to the move. Data looking at this relationship are presented in Table 5.3. in adjustment.

It is clear that contacts in the area are a facilitating factor/ Almost 40 percent of those with no contacts in the area had some difficulty, compared with 30 percent or less for those with kinship ties, or friends and/ acquaintances (Table 5.3). It is evident that, while friends and other contacts can help ease adjustment, they cannot eliminate all problems. Further, we see that having any type of contact seems to facilitate adjustment, although it seems that having kinship ties to the area serves to make adjustment somewhat easier than merely having friends or acquaintances in an area. An identical, but even stronger, relationship holds for the nonmetro migrants.

[Table 5.3 about here]

In further examining Table 5.3, we note a strong relationship of prior residence in the area of destination to adjustment. The proportion of respondents reporting "no difficulty" in adjustment to the new community increases regularly with prior residence. When both respondent and spouse are return-migrants to the area, the proportion reporting adjustment diffi-



Table 5.3 Percent of Migrants With Various Types of Ties to the Destination Area Who Have Had "Some Difficulty", by Migrant Type.

Ties to area of destination	Migrant Type	
	Metro migrants (N = 500)	Nonmetro migrants (N = 208)
	- - - - - percent - - - - -	
No ties in destination area	39	38
Type of ties:		
kinship ties in area	28	20
friends and acquaintances in area	30	27
Prior residence in area:		
A. Both respondent and spouse	22	24
B. Respondent or spouse	30	31
Owned property in area:		
Yes	27	25
No	34	32



culty drops considerably from what it is for the newcomers. Again, we see the same pattern among the nonmetro migrants, although it appears that having only one return migrant is not that great an aid in adjusting.

Another type of tie, owning property ( either housing or land) in an area also decreases the likelihood that one will experience adjustment problems upon moving to a community, for the simple reason that it probably reflects more extensive familiarity with the area. In general, whether the ties to the area were through friends and relatives, prior residence in the area, or property ownership, having had them made adjustment to the new community easier.

#### Adjustment and Residence Characteristics

We next looked at whether shifts in sizes of former and current places of residence had any effect on adjustment to the nonmetro community. As we have seen earlier, most of the metro migrants have gone from large urban areas to small rural towns and villages, or to the countryside. Migration from a large urban center to a nonmetropolitan area might represent a major cultural change, especially if the destination place is very small. Assuming that the discrepancy between size of former and current residence may be the determining factor in adjustment, we constructed a measure which took into account the size of both residences simultaneously. Migrants were categorized as undergoing no residential shift if their origin and destination residences were in the same size-of-place category; where differences existed these were categorized either as undergoing a shift to a larger or smaller place.

We see that metro migrants moving from larger to smaller communities are more likely to experience adjustment difficulties than those moving to similar



sized or larger places (Table 5.4). The differences, though, are not that large. Surprisingly, a much larger proportion of the nonmetro migrants who made no shift in terms of size of place of residence reported <sup>some</sup> adjustment difficulty than did those who made either of the other types of shift. One can only guess what this finding implies. The data point out that regardless of whether a shift in size of place is involved or not, adjustment difficulties are likely to occur. Moving to similar sized places does not seem to affect adjustment one way or another.

[Table 5.4 about here]

Finally, we looked at distance moved and adjustment. We reasoned that shorter moves should entail fewer disruptions in migrants' lives, and that migrants would be more familiar with nearby locations. Our measure of distance is whether the move was to an adjacent or a nonadjacent county. The data (Table 5.4) show that distance of move does have a bearing on adjustment, and for both migrant samples.

#### Motivations for Move and Adjustment

As discussed in Chapter 3, migrants express a number of different reasons for leaving the prior residence and for choosing the area of destination. By showing whether migrants moving for different reasons are more or less prone to experience adjustment difficulties, we can determine who among the migrants are less likely to adapt to the new residence and, hence, who may be more likely to want to move again soon. Probably not as much choice can be exercised in making employment related moves than is possible when the move has been for other reasons, for example, for environmental or retirement reasons. Therefore, the reason-for-move responses were dichotomized to reflect employment and nonemployment motivations. In Table 5.5 where reasons for leaving the prior residence and for choosing the area of destination are



Table 5.4 Percent of Migrants Experiencing "Some Adjustment Difficulty" by Degree of Residential Change and Distance Moved, by Migrant Type.

Degree of residential change	Migrant Type			
	Metro Migrants		Nonmetro Migrants	
	Base N	%	Base N	%
Residential Shift:				
No change	34	29	62	45
From smaller to larger place	8	25	39	28
From larger to smaller place	437	33	91	23
Distance moved:				
From nonadjacent county	458	33	111	40
From adjacent county	41	27	97	20



related to adjustment difficulty, we find that employment-motivated decisions are associated with more adjustment difficulty than migration decisions made on nonemployment grounds. The data suggest that constraining factors are involved in employment-related moves; jobs must be accepted in places where jobs are available, or in areas which may not have optimal appeal as places to live or work, and job transfer moves may involve little personal choice with regard to job location. Thus, in a sense many of the employment-motivated moves are more involuntary than moves based on other factors.

[Table 5.5 about here]

#### Migrant Characteristics and Adjustment Difficulties

Personal characteristics of migrants may influence their subsequent adjustment to the new residence. Characteristics such as age, education and income may determine level of expectations and whether or not individuals have the personal skills to make satisfactory adjustments. The data discussed in this section, therefore, are important to consider in determining if migrants with particular characteristics are more likely to experience problems.

In examining migrants' characteristics in relation to adjustment difficulty (Table 5.6), we find for both the metro and nonmetro migrants that the older migrants (55 and over) experienced less adjustment difficulty than the young or middle aged groups. On the other hand, as level of education increases so does difficulty in adjusting to the residence, and for both metro as well as nonmetro migrants. These data suggest that the younger and better educated migrants may have higher expectations relative to what the community should provide, whereas the older and less well educated migrants may have lower expectations and make fewer demands on their new localities. The pattern of findings for income is not consistent, however. Metro migrants with higher



Table 5.5 Percent of Migrants Reporting Adjustment Difficulties, by Reason for Move and for Destination Selection, by Migrant Type.

Reasons for move and for destination selection	Migrant Type	
	Metro Migrants	Nonmetro Migrants
	(N = 500)	(N = 208)
	- - - - percent - - - -	
Reason for leaving prior residence:		
A. Employment	42	40
B. Nonemployment	30	23
Reason for choosing area of destination:		
A. Employment	50	40
B. Nonemployment	28	26



incomes report fewer adjustment difficulties. For the nonmetro migrants, however, we see the reverse. This finding, perhaps, indicates that financial costs were greater for the longer distance metropolitan movers, and thus, the move was especially burdensome economically, for low income metro migrants. The pattern for nonmetro migrants may reflect what we have already pointed out with regard to age and education.

[Table 5.6 about here]

In summary, a majority of the migrants report that, overall, adjusting to the move was not difficult. However, when migrants were asked about specific types of adjustment problems a majority reported some particular difficulty, the most frequently mentioned being buying consumer goods and getting medical services. The discrepancy between the number of metro and nonmetro migrants citing these adjustment difficulties was explained in terms of higher expectations on the part of the metro migrants, and in terms of the age composition of the two samples--in the metro sample we have more elderly migrants, who would normally have more difficulty in getting access to these types of services. The fact that both migrant groups would cite these two problems more than others should constitute some evidence of deficiencies in these services in nonmetro areas and should be given attention for possible community improvement.

In looking at some of the factors which might allay adjustment in the new residence, we found that ties to the area of destination prior to the move facilitated adjustment somewhat. Size differences in prior or current places of residence, however, did not have much bearing on adjustment. Distance moved did; those who moved to an adjacent county were less likely to have adjustment difficulties. Looking at motivations underlying migration decisions, we saw that migrants who moved for employment reasons were more likely to experience adjustment difficulties than persons moving for nonem-



Table 5.6 Percent of Migrants Reporting Some Adjustment Difficulties,  
Age, Education and Income, by Migrant Type.

Migrant characteristics	Migrant Type	
	Metro migrants (N = 500)	Nonmetro migrants (N = 208)
<u>Age</u>		
35 and under	37	33
36-54	33	38
55 and over	29	18
<u>Education</u>		
Less than high school	28	18
High school graduate	33	29
College	36	39
<u>Income</u>		
Under \$10,000	34	26
\$10,000 and over	30	34



ployment reasons.

Fewer older migrants had adjustment difficulties, while those with higher education had more adjustment difficulty. Income presents a confusing picture; its effect is different for the two samples. Metro and nonmetro migrants had similar kinds of problems. Even though metro migrants were making greater changes in the types of areas from which they were moving, they seem to have adapted quite well, on the average, to rural living. At least metro migrants seem to adjust about as well to nonmetro areas as do the nonmetro migrants.

#### INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS IN THE NEW RESIDENCE

In turning to migrant integration into the nonmetropolitan localities, we pay particular attention to whether the integration of migrants approaches that of the long-term residents. One of the central questions being raised currently about the migration of metropolitan residents to nonmetropolitan areas is the extent of their involvement in the new and former residences, and whether they will become "under" or "overintegrated" relative to the residents of nonmetro areas. There is concern that, if level of integration is sufficiently low, migrants may want to move again soon. Conversely, overintegration raises the spectre of control over local affairs falling to "newcomers" (cf. Hennigh, 1978).

Integration is a multidimensional notion which includes ties to a locality by means of a variety of social, economic and political transactions. General community involvement, organizational participation, location for purchases of goods, and place of significant friendships are frequently used as measures of integration. Prior research has tended to focus on the social dimensions of integration, while neglecting the economic dimension. In this section we will focus on both dimensions.



One of our main integration measures is frequency of return visits and types of contact that are maintained with the prior residence. We have termed this "residual integration". We will examine, also, service sector integration, which is measured by distances traveled to acquire a number of goods and services, and finally we will look at how migrants compare with residents on measures of general community involvement. The community involvement measures are examined in terms of their association with ties to the area of destination and duration of residence. Reiger and Beegle (1974) have pointed to family ties as an inhibiting factor to migrant integration, while Toney (1976) has shown that ties in an area hold migrants to their destinations. Further, Reiger et al. (1978) found that migrant integration increases as length of residence increases.

#### Residual Integration of Migrants

The data on residual integration provide information on the extent to which the migrants have become integrated into the new residence relative to their continued contact with the prior residence. This is an important area of investigation, if we are to establish the ultimate impact of migrants on their new residence. There is some reason to believe that the two migrant samples may differ on specific types of residual integration. The urban to rural migrants may be more likely to maintain service sector contacts with the prior residence, since services are presumably better in the urban area. The rural migrants, on the other hand, are more likely to be short distance movers and, thus, have more opportunities for maintaining social ties and contacts. Not surprisingly, then, we may see that they have maintained greater contact with the prior residence than the urban migrants.

In this section we look at overall residual integration, number of



visits back to the former residence, and specific types of contacts with the former place of residence. With the use of the rural migrant sample we have a basis for comparing urban movers with a mover group which has, on the average, made shorter distance moves and in most cases came from much smaller towns and rural areas.

How much contact migrants have maintained with their former residences, what the reasons are for maintaining the contacts, and what types of migrants have retained contact are the questions being raised. Data are presented in Table 5.7. Approximately 70 percent of both migrant groups have made return visits to the prior residence at some time since they left. However, when taking an average of the number of return visits per year, we find that the rural migrants have maintained greater contact than the urban migrants, 17 compared to 12 visits per year/ (data not shown). This finding is probably a reflection of the fact that nonmetro migrants are more likely than the metro migrants to have moved from an adjacent county, thus allowing the non-metro migrants greater opportunities for maintaining contact and taking return trips to the prior residence.

[Table 5.7 about here]

Looking at the specific reasons for maintaining contact (Table 5.7), we see that migrants in general are far more likely to return to their prior residences to visit friends and relatives than for any other reason. Over 90 percent give social contacts as / the reason for going back. All other reasons fall in importance against social reasons. Approximately 30 percent of both migrant groups had returned for medical care and to shop, but very few of the migrants (9 % of the urban and 10 % of the rural) have maintained contact with the prior residence through their jobs. These latter figures are further evidence that the migration phenomenon we are discussing is essen-



Table 5.7 Percent maintaining and reasons contact is maintained with prior residence, by group.

Contact with Prior Residence and Reasons for Return Visits	Migrant Type	
	Metro migrants	Nonmetro migrants
	(N = 500)	(N = 208)
	- - - - percent - - - - -	
Have returned for visit(s)	70	69
Reasons for visit(s):		
Visit friends or relatives	92	92
Shopping	35	33
Get medical care	30	28
Go to work	9	10



tially not an exurban movement. We find also that over time there is further attrition in job contacts. A cross-tabulation of employment in the former residence by duration of residence shows that the proportions returning to the prior residence to work decline as length of residence increases. For example, 11 percent of the urban and 14 percent of the rural migrants who moved within the past four years are employed in the former residence, whereas only 8 and 6 percent, respectively, of the urban and rural migrants who moved in at an earlier date return to the former residence to work. Diminished employment contacts with the former residence over time may reflect absorption in the labor force of local or nearby communities, or perhaps even retirement.

In summary, the two migrant groups are essentially identical in the proportions who return to their former residences and on the types of contact they have maintained with their former residences. The rural migrants were about as likely to return to their former residences to purchase goods and services, work, or maintain social contacts as were the urban migrants. The urban migrants, though, did not visit the former residence as often as the rural migrants.

#### Migrant Integration in the Local Service Sector

The questions which underlie the discussion on service sector integration and community involvement are whether integration is any easier for the rural migrants moving shorter distances and to similar residential locations than for the urban migrants, what some of the factors are which inhibit or facilitate integration, and how integrated the migrants coming into rural areas are in relation to rural residents.

Our measure of integration into the local service, or economic sector



is based on responses to questions asking for the distance respondents, migrants and residents traveled to purchase a variety of goods and services. We calculated means of the estimated distances traveled to obtain goods and services, and we did it separately for those living inside and outside the city limits of their present places of residence.

The data in Table 5.8 show that, in most instances, the metro migrants travel greater distances to purchase goods and services than either the nonmetro migrants or the rural residents. However, it should be pointed out that the metro migrants live longer distances from the centers of the towns of residence than either the nonmetro migrants or the rural residents, and so the figures in Table 5.8 should not be interpreted to mean that urban movers are going back to their former residences for these particular services. Since the data in Table 5.8 were potentially misleading, we ran an additional frequency distribution of actual miles traveled to acquire the various goods and services. Those data indicate that the majority of the migrants, as well as the residents, find most services locally. However, of those who travel long distances (100-300 miles) to shop and obtain services, most are urban movers. There is, thus, some evidence that the urban migrants are more likely to travel longer distances to purchase goods and services than the rural migrants or the rural residents. What we cannot answer specifically is whether this trend toward more travel by the urban migrants reflects their residential location or their predilection toward variety in their purchases, making comparisons, or simply "shopping around."

[Table 5.8 about here]

It is apparent in Table 5.8 that grocery shopping and banking are done locally. The slight variations across samples probably reflect little more than differences in residential location. Migrants and residents travel con-



Table 5.8 Mean Distances Traveled to Obtain Selected Services for Persons Living Inside and Outside Corporate Limits of Residence Locations, by Respondent Type.

Services	Respondent Type					
	Inside Corporate Limits			Outside Corporate Limits		
	Metro	Nonmetro	Rural	Metro	Nonmetro	Rural
	Migrants	Migrants	Residents	Migrants	Migrants	Residents
....Average number of miles traveled....						
Grocery shopping:	4	3	2	10	9	9
Banking:	5	2	3	9	9	9
Obtain medical services:	12	8	10	21	15	17
Major appliance purchase:	18	10	12	25	18	17



make  
siderably greater distances to obtain medical services and/major expenditures, such as the purchase of appliances. We have documented earlier the problem many migrants expressed in finding the types of products and the range of goods and services they were used to in the former residence. The present data suggest that residents probably experience some of the same problems.

To summarize, rural migrants and area residents are equally integrated into the service sector of the local economy, whereas the metro migrants tend to travel greater distances for goods and services. One possible interpretation for this propensity to travel further is that urban migrants' levels of expectation for quality and availability of consumer goods and services are higher than that of the rural migrants and residents, although the finding may be specious in so far as urban migrants tend to live in more decentralized residential locations. Finally, the data have produced an unexpected finding which is applicable to all samples: those living in rural areas, migrants and residents alike, probably have to find many services in other, probably larger, nearby communities.

#### Community Involvement and Ties to the Area of Destination

It is widely debated whether preexisting social ties in destination areas hinder or promote integration of movers. Ties are thought to inhibit social integration into a new community, if migrants rely heavily on prior acquaintances for social contacts while exerting little effort to get involved in community activities or to make new friends. Alternatively, ties may be very functional in helping with moving, locating employment, providing temporary lodging, establishing friendships, and in a variety of other ways. It is precisely this issue which we will look at in the next section where we consider several types of preexisting ties: prior residence in the area, family and



relatives in the area, and friends or acquaintances in destination area.

The relationship of prior residence in an area to integration has not been explored in earlier research. It is reasonable to expect that return migrants integrate more easily into the community than primary migrants. Presumably they have prior knowledge of opportunities for participation or of the means for getting into community activities. A similar type of argument could be made for the other types of ties, although it is possible, as we have stated, that pre-move ties are dysfunctional. An over-reliance on friends and relatives may actually impede the absorption of individuals into the new residences.

The community involvement-integration measures used are: regular attendance at religious services, percent who are members of one or more clubs or organizations, and mean number of membership in clubs and organizations.

The data relating pre-existing ties to community involvement, or integration, are presented in Table 5.9. Over all, there is a very slight tendency for some types of pre-move ties to inhibit community involvement. Involvement drops off in number of activities mainly for migrants with relatives or family in the area, although migrants with relatives are more likely than others to belong to at least one club or organization. Return and non-return migrant households are about equally involved in community activities (Table 5.9), suggesting that prior residence in an area does not predispose migrants toward participation in the types of community affairs and activities on which we have data. More importantly, having no pre-move ties to an area does not seem to be much of a hindrance as far as these types of community involvement are concerned. Those with no ties to the area demonstrate a capacity for joining clubs and organizations about equal to that of migrants



with a variety of pre-move ties in the area.

[Table 5.9 about here]

Community Involvement and Duration of Residence

Is length of residence related to increased community involvement? The question is frequently raised because it is felt that migrants are apt to require a period of adaptation before they develop ties of exchange in community affairs and activities. The length of residence measure used in examining how time affects involvement relies on a comparison of earlier migrants (who moved to the rural location between 1970-73) with later migrants (who moved between 1974-77). The community involvement measures are those already discussed in the preceding section. The rural resident sample is used as a comparison group against which we can compare the levels of involvement-integration of the migrants. We would speculate that, over time, the migrants exhibit higher levels of involvement and more closely approximating that of area residents.

Earlier migrants, urban and rural, are not more integrated into all activities in their areas than recent migrants (Table 5.10). We find that rural migrants of longer duration residence show higher levels of participation in religious service attendance than the metro migrants. On the other hand, metro migrants tend more frequently to participate in clubs and organizations as length of residence increases. Neither migrant group has a level of involvement approaching that of the long-term residents. Nonetheless, it appears that, over time, migrants become more integrated into their new residences via some form of activity, though their level of involvement falls short of that of residents, even among migrants who have been in the area several years. This certainly should help to allay fears of an imminent "take-over" of rural areas by newcomers.

[Table 5.10 about here]



Table 5.9 Community Involvement and Migrants' Ties to Destination Area, by Migrant Type.

Ties to the area of destination	Metro migrants			Nonmetro migrants		
	Attended religious services	Member one or more clubs or organizations	Club and org. mem- berships	Attended religious more clubs or services organizations	Member one or more clubs or org. mem- berships	Club and org. mem- berships
	%	%	$\bar{x}$	%	%	$\bar{x}$
No ties	57	54	.74	51	47	.85
Type of ties:						
Children or other relatives	54	59	.69	63	56	.60
Friends or acquaintances	49	50	.81	59	55	.71
Prior residence in area:						
Return migrant households	56	50	.75	57	47	.73
Nonreturn migrant households	50	57	.76	56	54	.75



Table 5.10 Percent of Respondents Involved in Community Activities and Their Mean Number of Memberships, by Duration of Residence.

Community participation measure	<u>Metro migrants</u>		<u>Nonmetro migrants</u>		<u>Rural residents</u>
	Later migrants	Earlier migrants	Later migrants	Earlier migrants	
Attended religious services	53%	51%	52%	63%	66%
Member one or more clubs or organizations	51%	56%	53%	51%	55%
Mean number of club and organizational memberships	.67	.78	.79	.67	.96



## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The focus of this chapter has been on the adjustment and integration components of adaptation to the community. The migrants, both metro and nonmetro, appear to have adapted to their new residences with relative ease. Most of the migrants experienced few or no adjustment problems. Further, differences between the metro and nonmetro migrants were not great, even though the move represented a greater change in environment for the metro migrants. When adjustment problems were experienced, they were generally buying consumer goods in the local area and getting good medical care. Making new friends, finding a job, and joining clubs and organizations were less problematic adjustments. Many of these latter adjustment difficulties were apparently obviated by the contacts in and ties with the destination area that the migrants had prior to the move.

When we examined some factors generally associated with ease and difficulty in adjusting to a new residence, we found that preexisting area ties facilitated adjustment, suggesting that the help friends and relatives give the migrant in finding employment, obtaining services, locating housing, etc., serves to buffer some of the distress associated with moving. Prior residence and property ownership, which spare some the task of locating housing in the area, facilitated adjustment as well. In summary, the data indicate that the presence of social networks, the familiarity gained from having lived in an area before, and property ownership ease migrants' adjustment to a new area.

The lower incidence of adjustment difficulties among migrants moving from an adjacent county suggests that distance is a factor in adjustment. It may be that distance is related to familiarity with the new residence, or to the fact that shorter distance moves allow migrants to return more often to



the former residence. Making a residential change that involved a shift in size of place did not appreciably affect adjustment difficulty. This finding is somewhat surprising for the metro migrants, given the fact that those who moved from metropolitan areas must have experienced some "costs" in terms of resources and opportunities that are offered in the nonmetropolitan area.

We found that employment-related moves were associated with greater adjustment difficulty than moves undertaken for nonemployment reasons. One possible explanation for this difference may lie in the fact that employment-related moves probably do not involve as much flexibility or personal preference in destination selection as do nonemployment moves. As we have seen earlier in Chapter III, employment movers, unlike other types of movers, choose destinations largely on the basis of employment opportunities.

Younger, better educated migrants reported greater adjustment difficulty than older and more poorly educated migrants. These data may suggest that age and education interact as determining factors in level of expectation of what a community should provide in the way of resources and opportunities. On the other hand, the data may simply suggest that older persons have had the opportunity to become secure enough economically that a move is not as great a financial hardship.

The data on integration suggest that, even though a high proportion of migrants have maintained contact with their prior residences, they have developed extensive ties of exchange in the local economy and involved themselves in community affairs and activities in the new residence. However, the level of integration in the service sector appears to be somewhat lower for the metro migrants than the nonmetro migrants and the rural residents.



When we looked at integration in the local service sector, we found that metro migrants travel greater distances than the nonmetro migrants or rural residents to purchase goods and services. However, since they also are more likely to live in the countryside than towns than the nonmetro migrants or rural residents, the findings may not be that striking. Migrants and residents alike tend to travel outside the nonmetropolitan residence for medical services and to purchase major items.

This is consistent with the migrants' expression that their biggest adjustment difficulties in moving to the nonmetropolitan areas were in purchasing goods and services and in getting good medical care. No doubt, the nonmetropolitan areas are deficient when it comes to providing some service sector needs of their residents.

Community participation varies by type of activity for the metro and the nonmetro migrants, and level of involvement of both migrant groups falls short of that of the rural residents. There was only minimal support for the proposition that social network ties to the area of destination are a source of social gratification which inhibits migrants' involvement in other community activities. Those with relatives living in the area were only slightly less likely to participate in as many community activities, but, as length of residence increased, community involvement increased.



## PART II

### SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW MIGRATION

#### INTRODUCTION

The influx of new residents into rural areas is being viewed as a turnaround in more than numbers alone. In one way or another most of the questions posed about the new migration ultimately turn on the implications of the trend for rural areas. It is seen, on the one hand, as representing an opportunity for redressing the problems associated with past migration selectivities and, on the other hand, as posing a threat to the life styles and institutions in rural areas. This benefit-burden paradox is currently being given considerable attention in the media and by researchers. It is also one research issue which has had little documentation.

The impact question is generally raised in terms of demographic and cultural dimensions. One of the basic assumptions of the demographic aspect of the impact issue is that the composition of the metro-to-nonmetro stream is different from the residents in the nonmetro destination areas. Recent research using secondary migration data for the nation as a whole, and the data presented in Chapter I, demonstrate that migrants going from metro to nonmetro areas are younger, better educated, and likely to have higher occupational status than nonmetropolitan residents. However, we have been careful in pointing out that at the same time metro migrants are immigrating, most of the high growth areas in the study are experiencing inflows from other rural areas and losing migrants to metro and nonmetro areas alike. We have data on the inflows from other rural areas, but no data at all on outflows. As a result it is difficult to make a complete assessment of the net effects of migration on rural areas.



## Part II-1

The impact question is carried beyond compositional issues, however, to encompass the possibility that migrants coming from urban environments, in comparison with rural residents might also exhibit differences in values, attitudes, and preferences. And it is these differences which may eventually get translated into demands and behaviors which are substantially at odds with those of the local residents. A debate now centers on the magnitude, as well as on the direction of differences between metro-to-nonmetro migrants and residents. Do migrants exhibit, a more progressive orientation, that is, a greater dissatisfaction with conditions in their destination areas and as a result an increased receptivity toward changing various aspects of the destination areas? Or, are migrants likely to be more conservative toward improvements in the new area, and more inclined to support measures that would protect those aspects of rural living which attracted them to the area? Urban migrants are frequently viewed as a potential economic liability insofar as spending and taxing are concerned, and as a potential economic constraint, if they are more opposed than area residents to development strategies which they feel would destroy the appeal and character of life in the more rural areas.

In Chapter VI we focus on several facets of the growth and development issue, one of key areas of presumed conflict between migrants and residents. The question we address is whether migrants and residents hold different views on this particular issue. We will be able to establish if migrants are more receptive toward taxing to improve various aspects of the new community, and less receptive than residents toward various population growth and development policies and strategies that would encourage growth.

All assumptions regarding the potential impact of the new migration have



## Part II-3

to be couched in qualifications about the permanence of migrants in their destinations. In effect, the question of whether migrants remain is the ultimate impact issue, for if migrants are likely to be only short-term residents in their new areas, there will be little long-term impact. Thus, for obvious reasons, one of the frequent questions raised by the new migration trend concerns the permanence of immigrants in their places of destination.

Chapter VII centers on another of the recently raised questions about the new migration trend, and that is whether migrants are likely to remain in their new residences. What portion of the recent migrants expects to eventually move, and what portion expects to remain indefinitely? More importantly, what are the conditions which predispose migrants toward expecting to remain or leave, and if expectations are actualized, what types of individuals and households will out-migrate from rural areas? We look at the overall satisfaction of migrants with their current places of residence and report on their mobility expectations for the near future. By comparing the mobility intentions of migrants and residents we should have some idea of whether the recent migrants are disproportionately more or less disposed to a future move. Finally, we will look at the types of individuals who express an expectation and intention to move in the near future.



## Chapter VI

### Implications of the New Migration for Economic Growth and Development Frederick C. Fliegel

This chapter will address the general question of what effect, if any, the new migration may have on the high-growth rural areas where the migrants have settled. The fact that most of the rural counties with which we are concerned have been losing population until recently, and are now gaining, would in itself suggest that some changes might follow from the growth in numbers. More importantly, we have repeatedly shown, in earlier chapters, that our migrant samples differ in certain respects from local residents. Here we ask, broadly: so what? What difference does it make that new people, who are somewhat different from local residents, are moving in?

An assortment of case studies and reports of particular growth areas suggest that migrants may bring with them a new set of expectations which upset the status quo in rural areas. An Oregon community is reported to have problems approving school budgets when traditional leadership is challenged (Hennigh, 1978). <sup>versy</sup> Contro/ over land-use is a problem in <sup>a</sup> scenic area in Wyoming (Cockerham and Blevins, 1977). A California study (Sokolow, 1977) points to difficulties in enforcing housing codes as migrants establish themselves in remote areas. And, at the other end of the nation, a study of migrants to rural areas in Maine (Ploch, 1978) draws attention to the enrichment of local cultural resources as young, highly educated individuals and families bring new ideas and energies to the growth areas. <sup>(for an overview, see Schwarzweller,</sup> Many other examples could be cited/ <sup>Some</sup> 1978) stress the problems associated with growth, others stress the benefits. All focus on the consequences of the new migration to rural areas. Our study permits us to take a much broader look at impact questions in that our samples are drawn from many different location over an entire region. On at least a



few impact questions, we can determine, at a regional level, what some of the consequences of growth are for the receiving areas.

This chapter is divided into three sections. First, we raise some very elementary questions: to what extent are local residents and also migrants even aware of population growth, and to what extent do they view it as a problem? Is growth a salient issue? That sets the stage for a second section on growth as it may affect attitudes toward increases in local taxes in order to provide better services or improve existing ones. Here the comparisons of responses from not only the metro migrants and long-term residents, but also the nonmetro migrants, are particularly important. Implicit in much of the writing on the community impacts of migration is the assumption that whatever bane or blessing follows from migration is attributable to former urbanites. This position tends to obscure the fact that growing rural areas are attracting migrants from other rural areas as well, and we anticipate that our comparison of metro with nonmetro migrants can correct some misperceptions concerning migrant impact. Finally, in the third section of the chapter, we compare our samples on their attitudes toward controlling growth and development. Many rural communities are facing development issues, and we thought it likely that any differences in expectations of migrants versus residents would come into sharpest focus in the area of guidelines for development.

### Is Growth Perceived as Problematic?

Sample counties were selected because of relatively rapid growth, so it would seem to be redundant to ask respondents whether they are aware of the growth taking place. Nevertheless, unless there is local sensitivity to population growth there is little point in raising hypothetical questions about impact in these rural areas. Table 6.1 makes it clear that there is indeed a high level of awareness



of population growth among respondents in all three categories, as one might expect. Considerably less obvious is the fact that the bulk of the respondents in all three samples view the increase as good. Rural residents are slightly less likely to perceive the growth as unequivocally good, and slightly more likely to perceive it as bad rather than just being indifferent to it, but there is clearly no basis here for arguing that longer term residents resent migrants moving into "their" communities. On the contrary, there seems to be an extraordinarily high degree of consensus that <sup>population</sup> "growth is good." These results make it very clear that on a regional basis, with respondents from many different communities, there is widespread awareness of population growth but very little concern about it. There are undoubtedly some communities in the target counties experiencing growing pains and perhaps bitter controversy, but, in general, one senses in these results a "Booster's Club" type of enthusiasm for growth.

[Table 6.1 about here]

Table 6.2 presents more detail on respondents' perceptions of growth. Those respondents who were aware of growth, and perceived it as either good or bad, were asked a follow-up question: <sup>is it good or bad</sup> in what ways? Since few respondents perceived the growth as bad, their widely scattered responses to the follow-up question are not presented here. The many reasons given for the "growth is good" type of response pattern were coded into the categories shown in Table 6.2, however, and the three samples can be compared on these reasons.

[Table 6.2 about here]

Two general statements can be made about the data in Table 6.2. First, the vast majority of all reasons given for labelling population growth as good have to do with economic matters: money, jobs, investment, and so on. Only one type of response deviates from this pattern-- that growth brings in more people with new ideas. Metro migrants were somewhat more likely to mention new ideas as an asset (33%) than either nonmetro migrants (24%) or rural residents (25%). This is consistent with the fact that metro migrants are more likely to



Table 6.1. Percent of respondents, by group, who perceive population of county as increasing or decreasing, and view increase as good or bad.

Percent of respondents who say:	Respondent Group		
	Metro migrant (N=415)	Nonmetro migrant (N=174)	Resident (N=359)
Population is increasing	88	89	89
Increase is good	[ 74 ]	[ 77 ]	[ 70 ]
Increase is bad	[ 11 ]	[ 8 ]	[ 12 ]
Neither good nor bad	[ 3 ]	[ 4 ]	[ 6 ]
No change in population	9	8	7
Population is decreasing	3	3	5



Table 6.2. Percent of respondents, by group, who give various reasons for viewing population increase as good.

Percent of respondents who say:*	Respondent Group		
	Metro migrant (N=282)	Nonmetro migrant (N=126)	Resident (N=233)
More tax money available	37	41	35
More money spent in area	43	41	36
More investment	7	4	5
More factories, businesses	30	25	35
More jobs available	16	21	19
More people with new ideas	33	24	25

\* Respondents were permitted to give more than one reason and all responses are reported here, thus the percentages add up to more than 100.



have moved for noneconomic reasons than nonmetro migrants. However, the differences between the three samples on this category of response are not great, and that brings us to the second general statement about the table as a whole. The three samples are quite similar in their stated reasons for perceiving growth as good. There are differences in the proportions giving a fairly abstract reason, such as "more investment," versus a more concrete reason, "more factories, businesses," but these are trivial in view of the dominant tendency to refer to some aspect of the local economy.

What we have demonstrated in general, then, is that metro migrants, nonmetro migrants, and rural residents are quite similar in their awareness of population growth. By and large, they all perceive it as good, and economically beneficial. This finding can be coupled with the data in Chapter 5 which indicated that although many migrants experienced some adjustment difficulty, there was no evidence of solid majorities singling out particular problems or deficiencies in the new residential setting, i.e., they tended to be generally satisfied. The broader point is that neither the data on adjustment problems of the recent past or dissatisfaction with the current residence, nor material in this chapter on possible future problems suggest that migrants and residents have sharply different points of view which could become the basis for local conflict (Coleman, 1956), the question to which we now turn.

#### Growth, Demand for Services, and Taxes

There is a potential for shift in demand for community services when people of different backgrounds, having experienced different lifestyles, converge in a common location and establish homes. Looking back over a generation or more, there is no question but that desired goods and services, which were formerly difficult to obtain in remote locations, are now more readily obtainable.



Modern transportation, communication, and service delivery systems have reduced historic differences between city and countryside. Nevertheless, when formerly declining communities first experience an influx of newcomers who are not like the local people, one would expect some change in demand for an array of services, and local residents may not always agree with the newcomers, especially those from big cities, as to what to do about it.

Shifts in demand for community services imply at least a reallocation of local taxes resources and may well imply an increase in at least some local taxes. In order to explore that type of question, each respondent was asked to <sup>agree or</sup> disagree with the proposition that "Local Taxes should be increased to..." make possible each of the specific improvements listed in Table 6.3. In the actual interview the respondent was asked to "agree strongly," "agree," "disagree," or "disagree strongly" but the gradations of agreement and disagreement were combined for purposes of analysis, and only the proportions of each sample showing any degree of tolerance for tax increases are displayed in the table in order to simplify the description of results.

[Table 6.3 about here]

The first point worthy of mention with respect to Table 6.3 is that in most cases only a minority of the respondents in any of the samples would favor a tax increase, regardless of the purpose of the increase. A majority of the sample favorable to an increase occurs only for the nonmetro migrants, and only for two of the six purposes: medical facilities (53%), and area roads (55%). Most respondents would prefer to get along without tax increases, as one might expect, since tax decreases rather than increases have captured public attention at this point in time. Secondly, however, there are at least moderate differences among the samples in potential support for tax increases for several of the listed purposes, and these differences are not always the ones one might have anticipated.



Table 6.3. Percent of respondents, by group, who agree that local taxes should be increased to ...

Taxes should be increased to ...	Respondent Group <sup>*</sup>		
	Metro migrant	Nonmetro migrant	Resident
Improve schools	35	46	28
Build parks	35	40	33
Improve medical facilities	49	53	41
Improve police protection	40	49	45
Improve area roads	43	55	44
Provide services for senior citizens	40	48	46

\* Percentages are based on the total sample of each migrant type, with slight variations in number of cases across questions because of occasional failure to respond to a question.



## Schools and Parks

Given that the sample of rural residents is older, on average, than the migrant samples, and that the nonmetro migrants are the youngest of the three samples, it is to be expected that tax increases for both schools and parks would be least favored by the former and most favored by the latter, see Table 6.3. In addition, we had noted in Chapter 4 that the generally younger nonmetro migrants were somewhat less likely than the metro migrants to regard schools in the new place of residence as better. More detailed cross-classifications (not displayed here) which compare <sup>the</sup> younger <sup>and older</sup> respondents of each sample type with each other, <sup>migrants</sup> confirm the notion that it is the younger / <sup>migrants</sup> who feel a need for schools and parks. Older rural residents are the exception. They are slightly more favorable to tax increases for schools and parks than younger rural residents.

Since schools, though not necessarily parks, tend to absorb a substantial fraction of local tax resources, it would seem that consensus on school needs might be difficult to achieve in high growth areas, and precisely among young families with the greatest stake in local schools. That is, if there is potential for conflict over local services in any community, one would expect it to be most likely to occur in those segments of the service system that claim the largest fractions of the local tax dollar. Tax support for schools could well be an issue in some of the communities in our target <sup>the (generally younger)</sup> areas, but we must note that the difference in perspectives is greatest between/non-metro migrants and rural residents, with metro migrants in between.

Other detailed tabulations for comparable income groups (again, not displayed here), show the expected pattern of greater support for schools and parks among respondents with higher incomes, but again rural residents deviate from the pattern. Higher income rural residents are somewhat less likely to



agree to tax increases for schools and parks than those with lower incomes. This again suggests that the "newcomers," and especially those coming in from other rural areas, while feeling a greater need for improved schools and parks, may find it difficult to convince others of the merits of their case. On both schools and parks, migrants from metropolitan areas would seem to come closer to sharing the views of long-term rural residents on the important issue of financing improvements than is the case for migrants from other rural areas.

### Medical Facilities

A possible tax increase to improve local medical facilities got somewhat more support than either schools or parks / all types of respondents, residents as well as both types of migrants, though still short of majority support except among nonmetro migrants. The differences among the samples are similar to those discussed above, with rural residents least likely to favor a tax increase, migrants from other rural areas most likely to favor, and the metro migrants once more in between (see Table 6.3).

Here again the detailed comparisons by age group, income group, and also educational level, which we have chosen not to display, serve to heighten certain contrasts, but do not basically change the pattern shown in Table 6.3. This can be summarized with reference to migrants from other rural areas. By and large the younger, better educated, and wealthier of the nonmetro migrants stand out as most favorable to tax increases to improve medical facilities. We had not, as a matter of fact, expected that health needs would be better met in the area of the migrants' destination, but we should point out that we had expected older respondents, generally, to be the most concerned about improving local medical facilities. This is definitely not the case. For all three samples, respondents age 35 or less are clearly more concerned about local medical facilities than older respondents. They are more concerned, that is,



in the sense of being willing to consider increased taxes to improve medical facilities. Later, in Chapter 10 on the elderly, we will show that older respondents are in fact less satisfied with available medical services than those younger. The pattern of responses in Table 6.3, therefore, probably stems from a hesitancy to increase taxes among the elderly rather than a lack of concern about medical facilities.

### Police Protection and Area Roads

Turning back to Table 6.3, we may note that migrants from nonmetropolitan areas are again more likely to favor tax increases to improve police protection and to improve local roads. This same pattern prevails throughout the table, though the contrasts are usually not great. The nonmetro migrants tend to stand out as most likely to favor tax increases. For these particular comparisons, however, with respect to police protection and area roads, the migrants from the metropolitan areas are slightly more conservative than the rural residents. The general pattern of differences, which are modest in any case, is not notably altered by comparing similar age, income, and educational categories, thus these will not be discussed here.

### Services for Senior Citizens

Finally with respect to an increase in local taxes to improve services for senior citizens, the three samples are fairly similar, with 40 to 48 percent of each type of respondent favorable to an increase (Table 6.3). In this case we had expected a different pattern of responses, however, for the simple reason that there are marked differences in proportions of older persons in the three samples.

We had not expected that nonmetro migrants, who tend to be younger, would lead in favoring improved services for senior citizens because they have little to gain in that sphere. Schools, parks, and medical facilities for



families with young children are quite another matter. But services for senior citizens should be of less immediate interest to the younger nonmetro migrants, and of much greater interest to the relatively older rural residents, and especially to the migrants from metropolitan areas. In the latter group, fully 32 percent of the males and 18 percent of the females are retired (see Chapter I).

The tendency for younger persons to show more concern about services for the elderly is underscored, though hardly explained, by age-specific comparisons among the samples. For younger respondents, aged 35 and under, 48 percent of the metro migrants, 59 percent of the nonmetro migrants, and 57 percent of the rural residents favor a tax increase for improved services for the elderly. In contrast, for respondents aged 55 and over, only 32 percent of the metro migrants, 39 percent of the nonmetro migrants, and 37 percent of the rural residents favor such an increase. Younger respondents, both migrant and resident, lean toward improved services for the elderly, while older respondents from all three samples are dominantly against tax increases for improving those services. We had not expected such a contrast, and can only suggest, as we did in the discussion of medical facilities, that older respondents may be more concerned about increased taxes, as such, than younger respondents. And finally, whether younger or older, it is the nonmetro migrants who are most likely to favor tax increases to improve services for the elderly, as was the case for all the service areas listed in Table 6.3.

#### Attitudes Toward Controlling Growth and Development

Tax increases may not be truly inevitable as a consequence of population growth but are certainly a likely focal point for discussion of the impact of substantial immigration. This is especially true for sparsely populated rural



areas, which are almost by definition unlikely to have the kind of service infrastructure which can easily accommodate sharply increasing demand for those services. Planning for growth is commonly recommended in such situations and we have at least touched on such issues as our second focal point in assessing the impact of immigrants on these growing rural communities. Specifically, we asked each person interviewed to respond "yes" or "no" to the question: "Do you think the elected officials of your community should try to ..." do each of the things listed in Table 6.4. The issue of planning for growth versus non-planning is only implicit here for these are broad "development" alternatives. The question is explicit, however, in singling out local officials as initiators of change in one direction or another.

[Table 6.4 about here]

#### More Factories

In view of the general consensus among our respondents that population "growth is good," described earlier in this chapter, it is to be expected that initiatives to promote growth and development will be favorably perceived. This is clearly the case for all of the comparisons shown in Table 6.4. The first alternative, "keeping factories out," is posed negatively while the others are in positive form, but in all cases, for all three samples, the dominant response is clearly pro-growth, pro-development. Since relatively few of the respondents in any of the three samples took a negative stance on development alternatives, the detailed comparisons by age group, and so on, with very few cases in many categories, are not reliable and are therefore not discussed in this section.

With specific reference to factories, presumably as a means for providing more jobs and further growth, we may note a moderate tendency for metro migrants (21% say "no") to differ from nonmetro migrants (16% "no"), and rural residents (only 11% "no"). This may reflect some desire among metro migrants



Table 6.4. Percent of respondents, by group who state that elected officials of their community should try to ...

Elected officials should try to:	Respondent Group <sup>*</sup>		
	Metro migrant	Nonmetro migrant	Resident
Keep new factories out of area	21	16	11
Attract tourists and promote recreation	85	91	83
Develop the business district of the community	85	88	85
Attract new residents to the area	73	76	74

\* Percentages are based on the total sample of each migrant type, with slight variations in number of cases across questions because of occasional failure to respond to a question.



to preserve the rural character of the environment which they have chosen, but the data presented in Table 6.4, in general, can hardly be interpreted to reflect a conservationist stance. On the contrary, / <sup>development</sup> by whatever means is not an issue. If immigrants are having an impact on these communi-<sup>development or economic</sup>ties, it is not on the question of/growth, as such, or with respect to their views on the nature of that growth, but possibly on some of the more subtle ramifications of growth. The later discussion of amenity versus employment movers (in Chapter 8) will return to this theme.

### Tourism and Recreation

Table 6.3 shows very high proportions of the respondents in each sample in favor of tourism and recreation as a means of/<sup>economic</sup>growth. The proportions favoring tourism and recreation are slightly higher than those for attracting factories as a means of growth, but the striking thing, again, is that relatively large proportions in each respondent group favor any and every means of promoting economic growth. Vacation experience in the area in past years (see Chapter 9), and the prominence of a quest for amenities in making the move would lead one to expect a pro-tourism/recreation stance among metro movers, but nonmetro movers are even more solidly in favor of tourism and recreation development than those from metro areas. It is of course possible that the employment reasons for moving among nonmetro respondents are a reflection of earlier population and job growth stemming from the influx of metro migrants, i.e., that amenity seeking migrants create job opportunities and thus further population growth in the target areas. We lack the data to pursue such a possibility but it could help to account for the strong pro-development stance of the nonmetro migrant sample.

### Development of the Business District

Having already stressed the dominance of a favorable view to growth by any means, little more can be said about the third alternative, development of the community business district. We tried to elicit opinions about several



broad growth strategies. The first three, factory employment, tourism, and retail trade, are more or less parallel. All three clearly tended to elicit "yes" responses from all respondent groups. With specific reference to development of the business district, we might / <sup>speculate</sup> that the concerns about availability of some services as well as distances travelled for some services, discussed in Chapter 5, would contribute to support for business growth, for migrants and residents alike, but in fact support for business growth does not stand out from support for the other alternatives. More broadly, all of the development strategies under discussion in this section of the report leave open the question of whether public or private resources would be used for development. The questions on tax increases for particular kinds of service enhancement, described in the preceding section, did not elicit favorable majorities, except among nonmetro migrants, as we pointed out earlier. When tax increases are not an issue the generally pro-development stance of our respondents comes out most strongly.

### Attracting New Residents

Finally, the somewhat less direct development strategy, to attract new residents, also got "yes" responses from most respondents, but proportions favorable are only about 75 percent as against 80-90 percent for the others (see Table 6.4). The three respondent groups are again very similar in their response tendencies, and slightly lower percentages of "yes" responses to sheer increase in people may well stem from the less direct (or more abstract) nature of this growth strategy. It leaves open questions about what kinds of people might come in, where they would find jobs, and so on, and for such reasons may have attracted slightly fewer favorable responses. Nevertheless, the strong majorities in favor of attracting new residents can only be interpreted as part of a substantial consensus favoring economic growth and development among our respondents.



## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

What can be said then, in general, about the impact of migrants, whether of metro or nonmetro origin, on these rapidly growing rural areas of the region? Our respondents are clearly aware of the population growth taking place and they view it as a good thing, with only minor differences among the groups of respondents. Judging by the responses to the questions about official action to develop their communities, our respondents show a strong consensus in favor of further growth and development, and there is little evidence that they disagree about the general means of promoting development. This is not to say that a specific development proposal in a given community would not stimulate some debate, or even controversy. It does suggest a generally favorable view toward the growth that has taken place, plus a pro-development stance with reference to the future. And it further suggests that any more problematic impacts of growth might only show up in second or third order ramifications of the population increase itself. Or, alternatively, if what is now called the "new" migration continues over time, it may be that continued increase in numbers will be viewed with a more jaundiced eye at some future point. At present, however, there seems to be a consensus rapidly growing that growth is good in the rural counties of the North Central region. Case studies which highlight growth problems/might benefit from being viewed against this broader perspective.

We did find some differences among our samples of respondents on the questions regarding tax increases for the improvement of various services, one of the possible ramifications of the immigration of newcomers which communities often face. Possible tax increases were by no means viewed with favor by most respondents, but the most striking difference found was that nonmetro migrants, generally, tended to be more favorable toward improving any of the services listed than either metro migrants or longer term residents. A migrant



impact then, in decisions on local service infrastructures, might occur in the form of nonmetro migrants demanding more and better services with both metro migrants and local residents showing more resistance to change. The conventional wisdom about rural-rural differences would suggest that metro migrants might be least satisfied with things as they are, but that is not reflected in data analyzed here. We have noted that metro and nonmetro migrants tend to differ in age and in some other respects, and that they have moved to these high-growth areas for somewhat different reasons (Chapter 3). It may be these distinguishing characteristics of nonmetro migrants which set them apart from the other groups and will have to be better understood in order to assess community impacts in particular spheres. Generally speaking, however, our efforts in this chapter to compare metro/migrants, nonmetro migrants, and residents at the same age, education, and income levels did not alter the basic pattern. The nonmetro migrants were more favorable to tax increases for improvement of local services than either metro migrants or residents at the same level of age, income, or education.

The fact that our data show that migrants from metropolitan areas seem to differ little from long-term residents in their perspectives on growth and development, while migrants from other nonmetropolitan areas are more likely to have different expectations was not anticipated and thus deserves to be underscored, even if present data do not permit us to fully explore the reasons for the contrast. We can speculate. One could argue that rural areas have changed over the years, have become relatively more attractive than the cities (Beale, 1978), which are perceived as beset by problems, thus former urbanites should not be expected to find their needs unmet when they migrate in a rural direction. Similarly, it is possible that one should not expect former urbanites to be advocates of change, at odds with long-term residents, since they tended to select their new, rural residences for what they perceived to be the positive qualities of rural life, not just for jobs. In short, urban migrants may



tend to have anticipated what rural life would be like and may have based their migration decisions on a broader set of criteria than nonmetro migrants. The latter are more likely to have moved for job reasons, with the possibility that other characteristics of the destination area were less likely to weigh heavily in the migration decision.

for job reasons, with the possibility that other characteristics of the destination area were less likely to weigh heavily in the migration decision.

On the other hand, the contrast between a generally pro-development <sup>un-</sup>stance and/willingness to accept tax increases to pay for changes is particularly strong for the metro migrants. It is possible that the perceived amenities of rural living include lower taxes and other living costs. We noted in Chapter 4 that metro migrants were considerably more likely than nonmetro migrants to say that both taxes and general living costs were lower in the new residence than the old. Assuming that metro migrants wish to preserve that advantage, the issue becomes one of consensus on growth and development, but lack of consensus on who will pay for it. Nonmetro migrants are apparently more willing to accept higher taxes and public investment as the means to development, and may thus be more likely to function as advocates of change in a local situation than former urbanites. The foregoing are merely speculations, however, and we must repeat in closing that the regional data provide little evidence to suggest that the new migration is <sup>currently</sup> having a disruptive impact in most localities.



## Chapter VII

### MOBILITY EXPECTATIONS OF RECENT MIGRANTS

Andrew J. Sofranko and James D. Williams

One of the more important consequence questions, from both a research and policy perspective, is the relative residential stability of recent immigrants to rural areas, particularly of those from metro areas. Will they stay and become permanent residents, contributing their resources to the destination areas, or are their stays likely to be of short duration? While it is difficult to assess whether recent migrants will migrate out of the rural areas they are now in, it is possible to make some judgment of this potential from a variety of subjective measures which gauge migrants' satisfaction with and attachment to an area. It is also possible to make inferences about mobility potential from the composition of the immigrant stream.

There is a certain amount of risk involved in trying to directly assess future outmigration from subjective measures such as mobility intentions and expectations, or residential satisfaction. It is widely debated whether predictions based on intentions or expectations at one point in time are a good indicator of actual mobility. Some argue that the desire to move, which represents both the pushes and pulls operating on individuals, is a good predictor of actual movement (Blackwood and Carpenter, 1978:35; Goldstein, 1976:430), while others (DeJong and Sell, 1977:137-8) argue that there is a "striking incongruity" between subjective measures and actual moves.

Certainly not all intentions become translated into moves, nor can one anticipate future push and pull factors. The difficulty which arises when using such measures to estimate potential outmigration is that



many of the factors influencing migration are subject to modification over time, and the potential migrants themselves change over time in an area. As a result, the predictions, based on subjective measures could be either a high or low estimate of how many actually will outmigrate. However, given these types of limitations we can use measures of intentions and expectations to pinpoint the types of households and individuals which seem to be most likely to move, and to get some estimate of how many migrants perceive themselves, at the present time, to be loosely attached to their new residences.

#### INFLUENCES ON RESIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

Many factors are important in determining the potential for future outmigration. Community satisfaction is one factor which is particularly salient. Others (Speare, 1974; Bach and Smith, 1977; Campbell et. al., 1976) have shown the links between community satisfaction and desire to move and actual migration to be quite strong. We would expect that community satisfaction reflects the strength of bonds to a place, <sup>that</sup> and those who are most dissatisfied with their current place of residence would be more receptive to opportunities elsewhere and thus be more likely to want to leave. Community satisfaction itself, however, is the end result of a host of influences, structural as well as social-psychological, reflecting perceptions of adequacy of a variety of community attributes, perceived changes occurring in an area, and social and community ties (Fried and Gleicher, 1961).

It is also known that migration propensities vary regularly with several status and life-cycle factors. For instance, it has frequently been observed that the young, the better-educated, and the more skilled tend to be the most migratory in a population. The extent to which relationships between age and education, and preferences for living elsewhere and



expectations to migrate are observed in our sample groups is suggestive of possible future compositional changes in the study areas. In the present chapter we examine how mobility intentions and preferred residence relate to community satisfaction and various migrant characteristics. Our particular interest is in looking at how potential migrants compare with those not expecting or preferring to move in terms of age, education, and income, since losses of <sup>allied</sup> human capital and/resources are a major concern for our study areas, and for rural areas in general. We have seen earlier in this research (Chapter 1) that, in comparison with the residents of these counties, immigrants represent an added economic and manpower resource. The question now is whether the higher status immigrants, who represent a new resource and the greatest potential for future economic growth in rural growth counties, are also the most likely to leave.

#### POTENTIAL FOR OUTMIGRATION

Two major indicators of potential for outmigration are being used in the analysis. The first addresses migrants' preferred residence, that is, their preference for living in their current community versus some other place. Our assumption is that those who prefer to live elsewhere would be most likely to take advantage of an opportunity to move or, given a sufficiently strong desire to leave, may actually seek out opportunities elsewhere. The second subjective indicator, mobility expectation, is based upon a question asking respondents to assess the likelihood that they will move within the next three years. We should not expect the relationship between preferred residence and mobility expectation to be perfect, since some respondents may prefer another place, but see no opportunity to leave while others may want to stay, but know they will have to leave because of an impending



Job transfer or other factors.

We cannot determine how many of our sampled migrants will actually move, but if variables known to be related to actual migration (satisfaction, age, education and income) are also related to mobility expectations, we can suggest the types of people who seem most likely to move. Since preferences and expectations are at least to some degree separate indicators measuring slightly different concepts, we will investigate each separately. In order to provide some basis for assessing the relative frequencies of migrants' responses on questions of preferred residence and expectation to move, they will be compared with responses/area residents give to identical questions. This comparison will provide some estimate of how residentially in-stable or mobile/migrants are--whether they are more or less predisposed to move than the long-term residents, for example.

#### Mobility Potential Among Recent Migrants

The first assessment of potential for outmigration is based upon a question asking migrants whether they would "prefer to live in this community" or whether they would "prefer to live somewhere else." On the basis of responses to this question we would have to conclude that there is relatively little desire to move among the three/respondent groups. The nonmetro/origin migrants are the most inclined to prefer living elsewhere (24%), and the long-term area residents are least likely (7%). The metro migrant respondents are the intermediate group, with 15 percent preferring to live in another community (data not shown). The data, which demonstrate that at least three-fourths of the migrants prefer living where they are currently, is consistent with earlier findings on their relatively high levels of satisfaction and their overall lack of adjustment difficulties. Comparatively, the resident group is the most stable of the three. This is not surprising since most are life-long



residents of the area, somewhat older than the migrants, and less educated. It should be emphasized that for all groups a very large majority would prefer to remain in their current communities, a fact which bodes well for rural areas.

The second measure used in considering the potential out-migration of recent migrants is mobility expectations. The measure is based on a question which asked respondents if within the next three years they thought they would "definitely," "probably," "probably not" or "definitely not" move. Group comparisons are presented in Table 7.1. The great majority of each group indicate they expect to remain in the area for at least the next three years; 31 percent of the nonmetro migrants report they will "definitely" or "probably" move within that time, compared with 22 percent of the metro migrants, and only 10 percent of residents. In terms of potential for migration, the three groups are ranked as they were on the community preference measure. Although a majority of both migrants and residents express a low expectation of moving in the near future, the migrants are clearly more mobile in their orientation than are area residents. But, in terms of future population change in these metro areas, the data suggest that what losses may occur will disproportionately come from the nonmetropolitan migrants.

[Table 7.1 about here]

Other data, which we have not presented, also show that if these losses do occur, that is, if expectations to move result in actual moves, they will amount to more than local intra-county shifts of population. About 72 percent of all migrants expressing a likelihood (probably or definitely) of moving report that they will leave the county; 58 percent of the potentially mobile residents believe they will migrate out of the county. We will learn where they expect to go later in the chapter.



Table 7.1 Mobility Expectations by Respondent Group.

"Within three years will..."	Respondent group		
	Metro migrants	Nonmetro migrants	Residents
	-----Percent-----		
Definitely move	10	14	2
Probably move	12	17	7
Probably not move	33	37	35
Definitely not move	45	32	56
Base N	477	194	399



### Community Satisfaction Among Potential Migrants

The data in Table 7.2 examine the relationship between community satisfaction and the two mobility-potential measures. Those who are least satisfied with their current community have the highest preference for living elsewhere and the highest expectation that they will move. A strong relationship is evident for all respondent groups and for migrants especially. Eighty-eight percent of each migrant group reporting they were not satisfied with their current community prefer to live elsewhere, while more than 90 percent of those who were very satisfied prefer living where they are. For the residents the relationship between community satisfaction and preferred residence is not quite as strong, as evidenced by the fact that only slightly more than half (51%) of those who were not satisfied preferred to live elsewhere

[Table 7.2 about here]

These latter data on the residents suggest that the strong relationship presumed to exist between residential satisfaction and the wish to move (Speare, 1974) should be tempered. Length of residence in a place, as well as other life cycle factors, probably plays a more important role than commonly assumed. Furthermore, the data on the residents fit nicely with Quigley and Weinberg's (1977) suggestion that many households adjust to dissatisfaction without any corresponding desire or expectation for moving. Perhaps the residents would prefer to deal with their dissatisfaction by altering their environments, expectations, or both rather than leave.

Our findings on the expectation to move question prove to be quite similar to those for preferred residence, as we might expect. In fact, about 70 percent of those migrants who prefer living in another community also expect to move. So, there is a sizeable overlap between the two measures of residential integration.



Table 7.2 Percent Who Prefer to Live in Another Community, or Who Expect to Move, by Community Satisfaction (by Respondent Group)

Respondent group and satisfaction level	% Prefer other community	(Base N)	% Who are potential migrants	(Base N)
<u>Metro migrants</u>				
Very satisfied	5	(366)	11	(360)
Somewhat satisfied	37	( 92)	43	( 91)
Not satisfied	88	( 24)	96	( 24)
<u>Nonmetro migrants</u>				
Very satisfied	7	(131)	16	(128)
Somewhat satisfied	47	( 53)	54	( 52)
Not satisfied	88	( 17)	79	( 14)
<u>Residents</u>				
Very satisfied	3	(346)	9	(330)
Somewhat satisfied	23	( 60)	8	( 59)
Not satisfied	51	( 11)	40	( 10)



Since the overall levels of community satisfaction among migrants are quite high, we would expect that if satisfaction were a major prerequisite for remaining in a residence, a large majority of the recent migrants would remain in their present places. In other words, little outmigration volume could be generated from community dissatisfaction. However, since the preference for living elsewhere and the expectation for moving are so strongly related to community satisfaction, it would appear <sup>that</sup> /the pool of potential outmigrants could increase dramatically if levels of dissatisfaction increase in the future. It is also likely that in some subareas or communities of the region, community dissatisfaction may be much higher than witnessed overall for the three samples, in which case we would expect the potential for outmigration to be higher. The point is that people who are dissatisfied with their community of residence are the most prone to prefer another community and to expect a move. We will not attempt here to address the next obvious question, which is what factor or factors generate community satisfaction or dissatisfaction. That is, however, one of the major issues in community satisfaction research, and one which has not yet been satisfactorily addressed (c.f. Marans and Rodgers, 1975; Goudy, 1977; Brown and Gustavus, 1977).

#### HOW DO POTENTIAL MOVERS AND STAYERS DIFFER?

It has been demonstrated regularly in general migration research that migration is selective, and it is thus reasonable to expect that age, education, and income should also be related to preferences for leaving the community. Relationships between these three variables and preferences are suggestive of the kinds of people (human resources) that will most likely be lost in future outflows, should they occur. The relevant data for this



assessment are presented in Table 7.3 which compares those preferring another community with those preferring their current community on the variables of age, education, and income. With respect to age, those metro migrants who prefer another community are mainly under 35 (43%). Those who prefer to remain in the present community are, by comparison, older. We find the same relationship to be true for the nonmetro migrants as well, although it is much stronger. Those preferring to remain in their current community also differ in terms of education. The potentially mobile migrants, tend to be in the higher education categories, again in contrast to those who prefer not to move from their present community. Among the metro migrants there are, at most, minor income differences between the potential movers and those preferring their current place of residence, with the potential movers having slightly higher incomes. These findings symmetrically restate well-known propositions about the effects of age, education and income on propensity to migrate.

[Table 7.3 about here]

We can conclude from our examination of these relationships that future outflows among the post-1970 migrants, to the extent that preferences for living elsewhere are realized, are relatively more likely to draw off the young, better-educated, and those with higher incomes. However, since overall many recent migrants, including many young, educated, and high income individuals, expect to remain we would have to conclude that many of the migrants who represent assets to rural areas prefer to remain where they are.

In Table 7.4 we have presented data comparing those expecting to move within the next three years (potential movers) with those expecting to stay in their current residence (potential stayers). The findings are quite similar to those on the previous mobility measure (mobility preference). The potential movers



Table 7.3 Comparison of Respondents Who Prefer Living in Another Community with Those Preferring Current Community, on Age, Education, and Income (by Respondent Group)

Respondent characteristics	Metro migrants		Nonmetro migrants		Residents	
	Prefer other	Prefer current	Prefer other	Prefer current	Prefer other	Prefer current
	Community	Community	Community	Community	Community	Community
	- - - - - (Percent) - - - - -					
<u>Age</u>						
Under 35	43	32	59	40	15	14
36 to 54	32	29	29	30	47	37
55 and over	25	39	12	30	38	49
Base N	72	406	49	151	28	387
<u>Education of respondent</u>						
Less than high school	14	26	8	20	34	40
High school	38	42	39	45	48	44
More than high school	48	32	53	35	18	16
Base N	72	408	49	152	28	387
<u>Income</u>						
\$10,000 or less	46	49	38	47	38	55
Over \$10,000	54	51	62	53	62	45
Base N	68	370	45	148	26	349



tend to be younger and more educated than the potential stayers, but, there is no income difference. We should point out, however, that while the patterns for age and education are similar to those for preferences for both migrant groups, the relationships are much more pronounced for the nonmetro migrants. In other words, if all potential movers among the nonmetro migrants actually move, more of them are likely to be younger, better educated, and higher income individuals than if the potential movers among the metro migrants moved. This seems to tie in with other data in the text which show that the nonmetro migrants are more mobile and motivated more by employment considerations than are the metro migrants, and apparently for many of them their current rural residences do not have the attraction that the metro migrants' residences have for them.

[Table 7.4 about here]

In other analysis (not shown) we found that the highest mobility expectations, and for both migrant groups, are among those who moved for and selected destinations on the basis of employment considerations. Thirty eight percent of the metro migrants who moved for employment reasons expect to move within the next three years. The metro migrants who least expect to move were those who moved for what we have termed environmental push reasons (15%) and those who gave retirement as the reason for moving (7%). An identical pattern exists with respect to motivations for choosing the destination, i.e. almost 40 percent of those who chose their current destination on the basis of employment factors expect to move within the next three years. The general implication of these findings is that many of the migrants into these fast growing rural counties who were attracted by the promise of new or better employment are continuing their assessment of employment opportunities and are still looking for new or better jobs, or expect another transfer. For some it may be a reassessment of the



Table 7.4 Comparison of Potential Movers with Potential Stayers on Age, Education, and Income (by Respondent Group)

Respondent characteristics	Metro migrants		Nonmetro migrants		Residents	
	Potential		Potential		Potential	
	movers	stayers	movers	stayers	movers	stayers
	- - - - -		(percent)		- - - - -	
<u>Age</u>						
Under 35	64	27	70	32	28	13
36 to 54	22	32	18	36	24	41
55 and over	14	41	12	32	48	46
Base N	102	370	60	133	38	360
<u>Education of respondent</u>						
Less than high school	13	27	7	19	28	39
High school	44	41	44	41	50	45
More than high school	43	32	49	40	22	16
Base N	103	372	59	134	38	361
<u>Income</u>						
\$10,000 or less	48	48	40	46	45	53
Over \$10,000	52	52	60	54	55	47
Base N	98	337	59	129	35	327



types of jobs they obtained in their current residence. As McCarthy and Morrison (1978) have suggested, employment opportunities may have expanded faster than earnings in some growing areas. Higher paying jobs may thus be one of the future considerations of employment-motivated migrants. Clearly some of these migrants appear to be receptive to living and working elsewhere. By the same token, those who moved to get away from urban areas appear to be fairly stable in their new residences. In fact, they are only slightly more mobile in their expectations than long-time area residents.

Without a more elaborate analysis, we can only speculate about the relative importance of community satisfaction, age, education, and income as determinants of outmigration. For our present purposes a multivariate approach is not necessary in spelling out the likelihood of future migration in these areas. Our findings so far have pointed out the clear possibility that just as migration has been shown to be selective, the same selectivities are operating in our samples of migrants, and those representing the greatest assets to these rural areas are the most likely to outmigrate.

#### WHERE WOULD POTENTIAL MIGRANTS GO?

The final data to be considered in this section are the size-of-place preferences of those respondents in the three groups who will "definitely" or "probably" move in the next three years. Preferences are based on the question: "If you did move, would you prefer to live in . . .?" The possible response categories are given in Table 7.5. The most striking features of the data are that the potential metro migrants, more than the other groups, would prefer to live in a large town or big city (36 % versus 19% for the nonmetro migrants and 16% for the residents), and that for



the majority of all three groups their preferred residences (if they moved) would probably be similar to those they are currently residing in. There is a decidedly rural orientation. Some of these respondents may wish to live closer to metropolitan centers, or in slightly larger places, but we have no way of determining that with the present data set. In light of our data we would have to conclude that, over all, there is very little evidence of disenchantment with current residential rural areas among the metro migrants, or the other migrants for that matter, and certainly not among residents.

#### DURATION OF RESIDENCE AND MOBILITY POTENTIAL

Up to this point we have ignored the important and complicating role of length of residence as a determinant of future outmigration. There is substantial documentation to suggest that the probability of migrating is inversely related to the length of stay in a particular residence (Land, 1969). The basis for this generalization is multifaceted, however, and it is not known, for instance, whether the development of ties in an area over time creates an "inertia" which inveighs against further mobility, whether adjustments and adaptations made over time mitigate the desire to move, or, whether inertia is attributable to other factors. An adequate test of these of these alternative hypotheses is clearly beyond the purposes of the present research design and we confine ourselves to a descriptive presentation. We will explore the relationship between length of residence on mobility expectations and residential preferences and on what we have found to be the main correlate of expected mobility, community satisfaction.

We have noted earlier (Chapter I) that the nonmetro migrants in our



sample have, on the average, moved into the target counties more recently than the metro migrants, perhaps reflecting past patterns of rates of both in and outmigration. Those coming from nonmetro areas may be more mobile than those from metro areas, and thus, in the aggregate, be relatively short-term residents of the area and thus have higher rates of outmigration. The difference in average duration of residence between the migrant groups, however, may also be due to differences in relative rates of immigration and the acceleration or deceleration of the trends during the 1970-1977 period. It may well be the case that immigration from nonmetropolitan areas is gaining momentum in recent years while migration from metropolitan origins is leveling off. Without knowing how many immigrated and then outmigrated between 1970 and 1977, we have no way to assess the relative merits of these explanations of the differences in distributions for duration of residence among the two migrant subsamples. However, it is clear that the differences between the two groups have to be taken into consideration in any migrant comparisons on mobility expectations or community satisfaction. Migration expectation and community satisfaction distributions, like duration of residence, could thus be expected to contain the imprint or results of outmigration before the time of the interviewing. For example, if those who were most dissatisfied upon immigrating, and who expected to move, did indeed move out of the area shortly after moving in, they would not have fallen into our samples. As a result there would be, by this selection process alone, a lower probability of finding potentially mobile or dissatisfied individuals among the early migrants.

[Table 7.5 about here]

Because of the confounding nature of these problems, we are able to hypothesize effects of duration of residence, but recognize that it may be



Table 7.5 Residential Preferences of Potential Migrants.

Desired residence	Respondent group		
	Metro migrants	Nonmetro migrants	Residents
	.....Percent.....		
Big city (50,000+ )	15	7	11
Large town (10,000-50,000)	21	12	5
Small town, village (<10,000)	12	13	40
Countryside, nonfarm	38	46	30
Farm	14	22	14
Base N	102	59	37



underestimating the actual effect of time spent in a residence on mobility expectations and residential satisfaction. Duration of residence has been dichotomized at the midpoint of the 1970-1977 period. Those moving in between 1970 and 1973 are referred to in Table 7.6 as "early" migrants, and those immigrating after 1973 as "later" migrants.

[Table 7.6 about here]

From the data presented in Table 7.5, it is apparent that among the metro migrants, length of residence does seem to relate to their expectations for future mobility; 18 percent of the metro early migrants expect to move, but 25 percent of <sup>the</sup> later migrants expect to move in the near future. A similar but more dramatic pattern emerges among the nonmetro migrants, with the later migrants twice as likely to move as the early migrants. It is not surprising that those who have lived in the area the shortest time seem most likely to move. They may not have had an opportunity to move and there may have been insufficient time for the various socializing influences suggested above to have occurred. It is clear that, among the migrants, those from nonmetro areas are most likely to expect to move. However, it is interesting to note that there is little difference in expected mobility among those who have lived in the area longer, regardless of origin.

There is also evidence on the second measure of potential mobility, preferred residence, that the later migrants, in both samples, are more disposed to living elsewhere than the early migrants. Thus, the direction of the relationship is the same as was observed for mobility expectation.

Finally, our findings regarding the relationship between duration of residence and community satisfaction are not consistent with the other findings in Table 7.6. We noted earlier that community dissatisfaction and mobility expectations were highly related, and we also saw (Table 7.6) that



Table 7.6 Mobility Expectation, Residential Preference and Community Satisfaction, by Migrant type and Duration of Residence.

	<u>Metro migrants</u>		<u>Nonmetro migrants</u>	
	Early migrants	Recent migrants	Early migrants	Recent migrants
-----percent-----				
1. Expected mobility:				
--Some expectation of moving	18	25	19	38
--No expectation of moving	82	75	81	62
2. Preferred residence:				
--Present community	86	83	79	73
--Elsewhere	14	17	21	27
3. Dissatisfied with community	5	5	11	7



duration of residence and mobility expectation were related, though not strongly. However, in the final row of Table 7.6, we find no relationship between duration of residence and satisfaction for metro migrants, and only a slight relationship for the nonmetro migrants.

We had, of course, expected dissatisfaction to be higher among "later" migrants. The basis for expecting this relationship is that the later migrants are newer, still making adjustments, they may not yet have found optimal housing or friends, or they may not have yet had the opportunity to leave. We found, however, a weak relationship, at best, between length of residence and dissatisfaction. Essentially, equal portions (5%) of early and later metro migrants are dissatisfied. The difference between early and later nonmetro migrants is not great (7% vs. 11%, respectively), but still the relationship is the reverse of what we expected.

#### SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

From our earlier analysis of reasons for migration (Chapter III) we know that the great majority of migrants made voluntary moves <sup>were</sup> and <sup>A</sup> motivated predominantly by factors other than employment. Even for those moving for job-related reasons, the detailed data suggested a high level of freedom of choice in the migration process. While some degree of rationalization may be involved, the preference data discussed in this chapter demonstrate that most are in a residential environment they prefer. Indeed, all of our data on intentions and expectations suggest that the immigrants have achieved their goals--those from metro areas probably more so than those from other nonmetropolitan areas. Most of the migrants, and especially the metro migrants, moved voluntarily, are satisfied with their current places of residence, prefer to stay, and do not expect to leave. Even those who are potentially mobile prefer to live in locations very much like where they



are actually living currently. We would conclude that in general all signs point to high levels of retention of recent immigrants to high growth areas of the Midwest.

The overall findings, while they are encouraging as far as the retention of migrants in nonmetropolitan areas is concerned, belie the uncertainty a small portion of the migrants have about their present communities and about remaining in their present locations. Roughly a fifth of the metro migrants and close to a third of the nonmetro migrants prefer to live elsewhere or have a high expectation of moving in the near future. Whether these are large or small proportions is a question which is best left to readers to determine. Since several objective measures which have been found to be associated with higher mobility are found to be related to the subjective mobility measures we have used, there is some basis for arguing that the figures we have presented might be reasonable estimates of potential out-migration.

We are, of course, unable to specify how many of the potential migrants will actually move, or how many additional migrants will locate in these high-growth areas over the next several years. Immigrants may well offset any losses which materialize from the present set of respondents, in which case the impact of any losses would be minimal.

Our data have helped to identify the most mobile types of individuals, and not surprisingly they tend to be the younger, better educated, higher-income individuals, whose mobility potential is probably comparable to that of similar individuals elsewhere. We also know from <sup>other</sup> data in the survey that the potentially mobile migrants were also more likely to have moved for employment reasons, that they had experienced more adjustment difficulties initially, and were less likely to have had pre-move ties in the area. It



appears that employment was a major concern, and still is, for many of those with mobility potential. On the basis of our data, it appears that nonmetro areas have been able to "capture" the metro migrants moving for retirement, rural amenity, and urban push reasons, and to a lesser extent those moving for employment reasons. Further, the significant <sup>minority</sup> / or nonmetro migrants who prefer to live elsewhere or expect to leave would suggest that the non-metro areas have done better at "capturing" the metro migrants than the nonmetro migrants.

Finally, there is optimism in the data for rural areas. Most recent metro migrants will probably remain, if we were to go by their preferences and expectations, and most of those who do move are not likely to flee rural areas for urban areas. Overwhelmingly, those who expect to move and prefer to move, prefer living in places much like those they are currently in. Thus, while some particular places may experience the problems associated with outmigration, rural areas as a whole should suffer very little if at all. And so it appears that over the next few years nonmetro areas may experience some internal redistribution of population, but there is likely to be very little return migration to metro areas.



### PART III

## A CLOSER LOOK AT THE MAJOR COMPONENTS OF THE NEW MIGRATION

### INTRODUCTION

Evidence of a population turnaround first appeared almost a decade ago, and since that time a wide variety of questions has emerged in response to what was thought to be occurring. There was, initially, the question of the motivations underlying the trend. Analysts of census data and the popular media emphasized anti-urban and pro-rural factors and, more broadly, changes in Americans' values and expectations. The data presented in Part I, which are based on actual responses from migrants themselves, have tempered this perspective, but they have not necessarily overturned it.

Once the new migration trend was firmly established, and some consensus had been reached on the motivations which underlie it, attention turned to questions regarding the composition of the migrant stream and the impact the "rural renaissance" was having or would have on rural areas. More specifically, the issue was defined as who was moving and how migrants would alter destination areas. In the second part of this research we have attempted to provide some overall insights into several aspects of the potential impacts associated with the new migration trend in the North Central Region.

In Part III we focus more directly on some of the specific components of the metro-nonmetro stream which lie at the core of discussions on the new migration.

In Chapter VIII we utilize the responses metro migrants give for moving to delineate two types of migrants--those moving for employment reasons and those moving for environmental or amenity reasons. The analysis then proceeds to compare these two metro migrant types on several of the



## Part III-2

issues addressed in earlier chapters. Our general feeling is that since amenity and employment motivated migrants make up a large portion of the stream and reflect fundamentally different concerns, a separate comparison is warranted. Any of a number of illustrations could be presented to suggest that migrants motivated by different concerns are themselves different in terms of their characteristics, different in the places they are leaving and in which they are relocating, and different in what they are willing to forego, their attachment to their new residences, and the perspectives which they bring to the areas they choose. Chapter VIII describes these differences and makes some suggestions regarding the consequences of these diverse types of migrants for the areas attracting primarily one or the other type.

Chapter IX focuses on the elderly metro migrants, another of the components of the stream which has received widespread attention. Research conducted in various parts of the region has reported that the migrant stream consists of a heavy elderly flow, moving for retirement or pre-retirement reasons, returning home to areas which they left years ago, and perhaps even to areas in which other family members are currently residing. One of the implicit concerns associated with this portion of the stream is that a large influx of older persons will contribute to a further aging of the population in rural areas, and eventually it will result in the need for new and expanded services by a segment of the population least able to economically support such services. Chapter IX concentrates on two specific issues regarding the older migrants: how they compare with the older residents in the region, and the motivations which underlie their moves and choices of destination areas. On this latter issue the analyses



will address questions related to how older migrants have benefitted from the move. Objectively and/or subjectively, have they improved themselves by moving?

Finally, Chapter X turns specifically to several issues associated with the return aspect of the new migration. We have earlier documented the portions of the sample who are returning to areas where migrants were born or had once lived. Chapter X goes beyond this documentation, however, to explore the differences between newcomers and return migrants and investigates the ways in which return migration contributes to some of the unusual aspects of the flow of immigrants from metropolitan areas. One of the underlying themes which is explored is whether the return migration component of the trend is selective of certain types of individuals and households, and in particular of those who might be defined as "urban failures." And, finally, return migrants are compared with newcomers on several of the impact issues which have been discussed in Chapter IV.



## Chapter VIII

### Job Seekers and Amenity Movers: Differences and Impact Potential Andrew J. Sofranko INTRODUCTION

Our earlier analysis of the decision to leave the metropolitan residence shows that the two main types of motivation were environmental amenities and employment, and in that order. Together employment and amenity considerations account for more than half of the reasons metro migrants have given for leaving their places of origin. These findings are consistent with other research on the new migration, and with public perceptions that the phenomenon is rooted in employment expansion in nonmetro areas, the diminished attractiveness of urban life, and the increased attractiveness of rural living (Beale, 1975).

Much of the current speculation over the continuation of the new migration, and its impact on rural areas, has focused at one time or another on each of these modal types of movers. They are presumed to be different in terms of their origins, household composition, and socio-economic characteristics, as well as on the trade-offs they make, their attachment to the destination areas, and their potential impact. Migrants who are motivated for different reasons are unique in some respects. The main issue here, however, is how they are different, and what the implications of those differences might be. If migrants moving for employment and amenity reasons are distinctive, communities or areas demonstrating a propensity to attract one or the other of these types of movers may be affected differently. Also, if migrants with different motivations are distinctive in other respects the overall consequences of the new stream for rural areas may shift in relation to the predominance of one or the other motivation in migrants' decision making processes. The following comparisons will provide some insight into the dif-



ferences between these two migrant types.

Our intent in this chapter is to establish whether the basic underlying motivation for moving is an important selection criterion which differentiates migrants on a variety of demographic and cultural measures. The position we take is that motivation for moving is an important indicator which summarizes a variety of causal influences on migration. Motivations thus may be viewed as a single summary measure of the cultural, economic and social factors which have been salient elements in the causal chain leading to the decision to move.

Our examination of differences between these two basic migrant types begins by examining differences in places from which they originate and in which they relocate. We then characterize them on a variety of personal and household characteristics, and in order to get some estimate of what "trade-offs" may have been involved for each of these types of movers we look at their employment and occupational shifts and income changes. The focus then turns to one of the more frequently expressed issues of the new migration, namely, that amenity movers are bringing a different set of perspectives to bear on the economies of their destination areas. Finally, we look at the mobility potential of each of these types of movers and their attachment to the new residence.

Our delineation of migrant types is based on migrants' responses to questions on the main reason they gave for leaving the former, metropolitan residence. Those who cited any of a number of employment-related reasons as the main reason for leaving are referred to as job-seekers (N = 122). Amenity movers, on the other hand, are those who moved for what we have referred to earlier as environmental push and environmental pull factors (see



Chapter III). These are essentially those migrants who gave general anti-urban or pro-rural reasons for moving ( $N = 138$ ). Migrants from other nonmetro areas and long-term residents do not enter into the present analysis.

#### ORIGINS AND DESTINATIONS OF EMPLOYMENT AND AMENITY MOVERS

Migrants giving amenity reasons for moving came from different types of places within the metro area, and have located in different types of places in the rural destination than the job-seekers. Also, their moves tend to be of shorter distance. If we look first at the sizes of places of origin, we see that the amenity movers have a decidedly big-city background (Table 8.1). Slightly more than half originated in big cities of a quarter of a million or more, almost twice the proportion for employment movers. They also tend to relocate in smaller places in their destination areas, in or near villages of less than 1,000 population. Altogether, 86 percent of the amenity movers are in or near places with less than 5,000 people, compared to 70 percent for the employment movers. The job seekers, as we have pointed out in Chapter 3, tend to locate in larger places; for example, 30 percent have moved into nonmetro places of over 5,000, compared with 14 percent for the amenity movers.

[Table 8.1 about here]

If we are to assume that employment opportunities are more available in larger places, we can begin to understand the job seekers preference for larger towns. The question that remains, however, is how a large proportion of the job-seekers manage to find jobs in small towns? If employment were truly the overriding concern, wouldn't a higher proportion be in the bigger towns? The answer lies in a recently documented trend that is emerging in many rural areas of the nation, rural suburbanization (Long, 1978). In effect, many rural residents are choosing countryside, village,



Table 8.1. Sizes of Origin and Destination Areas and Distance Moved, by Mover Type Among Metro origin Migrants.

	Employment movers (N=122)	Amenity movers (N=138)
	-----Percent-----	
1. Size of place of origin:		
less than 5,000	17	4
5,000 to 49,999	23	24
50,000 to 249,999	32	21
250,000 and over	28	51
2. Size of place of destination:		
less than 1,000	29	53
1,000 to 4,999	41	33
5,000 to 24,999	27	14
25,000 to 49,999	3	0
3. Type of current residence:		
In town	36	23
On farms	20	26
Open country, nonfarm	44	51
4. Distance of move:		
Intrastate	58	70
Interstate :		
intra regional	21	18
inter regional	21	12



and farm living, but commute daily for work in the larger rural communities. Other data in the present survey would suggest this as a possibility. Information from various questions about residential location has permitted us to identify whether migrants are residing on farms, in towns, or in the open country, nonfarm portion of the nonmetropolitan area. These data are presented in Table 8.1. The surprising finding is not that amenity movers are living in more rural residences, but that a large portion (64%) of the job-seekers are also in the most rural residences--living on farms or in the countryside. Several conclusions are possible; first, while job-seekers did move for employment reasons, there was also an underlying concern for amenities. Second, they live in close proximity to places of employment, thus allowing them to combine rural living with employment; and third, many may have settled in residences where housing was available. The fact that most of the movers got the type of housing they wanted, and felt their housing is adequate for their needs, suggests this latter explanation has considerable merit.

Finally, we see that the job-seekers have probably, on the average, made longer distance moves. Forty one percent have moved into their current places of residence from outside the State, compared with 30 percent for the amenity movers. It appears that the availability of jobs in some of the faster growing rural areas of the region exerts a pull on employment motivated individuals at great distances. This pull cannot be explained, however, in terms of return migration or in terms of ties to destination areas. The two mover groups are separated by only a 3 percentage point difference on return migrant status, and the amenity movers are more likely than the job-seekers to have had pre-move ties to the destination areas. Quite simply, job-seekers' moves seem to be less dependent on ties to the area of destination than



amenity moves--coming further distances and to places where they have fewer ties and personal contacts.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF AMENITY AND EMPLOYMENT MOVERS

Other research has shown that, compositionally, the migrants in the stream moving in a nonmetro direction tend to have better jobs, are younger, and more educated than the nonmetro population they are joining (DeJong, 1976; Mitchell, 1975). Our earlier sample comparisons (Chapter I) support this finding. The question here is whether migrants responding to different stimuli for moving vary in terms of their personal and socioeconomic characteristics.

The characterization generally associated with metro migrants as being younger, better educated, and higher income seems to fit the job-seekers more closely than it does the amenity movers (Table 8.2). The amenity movers are older, less educated, and have lower incomes than the job-seekers. For example, only 8 percent of the job-seekers are 55 and over, while 28 percent of the amenity migrants are over age 55 (Table 8.2). Similarly, a much higher proportion of the job-seekers finished college ( 34% compared to 13%). Finally, amenity migrants have much lower current (1976) incomes than the job-seekers, with almost half earning less than \$10,000 a year (Table 8.2). No differences of any note were found on the household composition measure (data not presented).

[Table 8.2 about here]

There are some minor occupational differences among the groups. Using the three-category breakdown based on standard Census occupation categories (see Chapter I), we see that a much higher proportion (53% vs. 32 %) of the job-seekers are in the upper white-collar occupations, while the amenity migrants are much more likely to be in blue-collar occupations (Table 8.2).



Table 8.2 Characteristics of Job-seekers and Amenity Movers Among the Metro Origin Immigrants.

	Employment movers (N = 122)	Amenity movers (N = 138)
	Percent	
1. <u>Age:</u>		
35 or less	46	41
36 to 54	46	31
55 and over	8	28
2. <u>Education:</u>		
less than high school	12	25
high school	32	45
some college	22	17
completed college +	34	13
3. <u>Current (1976) Income:</u>		
\$10,000 or less	19	49
\$10,001 to \$20,000	54	37
over \$20,000	27	14
4. <u>Current Occupation:</u>		
Upper white collar	53	32
Lower white collar	11	14
Blue collar	36	54



## IMPACT OF MOVE ON JOB-SEEKERS' AND AMENITY MOVERS' HOUSEHOLDS

One of the common conceptions of urban-to-rural migrants, especially those moving for what we have termed amenity reasons, is that the move involves a substantial sacrifice in terms of income, occupational advancement, and opportunities in general. The desire to leave the urban area, or to move to a rural area, is assumed to be the overriding concern of amenity movers, with many of the other concomitants of migration assuming secondary importance. Thus, in order to leave the urban areas migrants are assumed to be willing to "trade off" many of the advantages of urban living and the lifestyle they had for a more rural environment, including risking temporary unemployment, shifting to a different occupation, traveling longer distances for services and shopping, changing type of housing, and making new adjustments.

It is not so easy to make the same argument for the job-seekers, for whom it is assumed that amenity factors are of secondary importance. What motivates their migration are the opportunities it provides for new, better, or different employment. There is thus reason to believe that while some trade-offs may be involved in their moves, if, overall, the move has been economically and occupationally beneficial, they would experience fewer serious economic sacrifices or disruptions.

There are several issues or questions involved here. Is it the case that amenity movers' decisions are so strongly dominated by amenity considerations that they are willing to undergo economic and occupational, as well as other, disruptions and losses? Conversely, are the job-seekers who are presumably moving to take advantage of employment opportunities in rapidly growing rural areas actually gaining from the move? Are they improv-



themselves as much as one would assume, given their stated reason for moving? These are essentially the questions we will address in the following section.

### Employment Status Changes

Table 8.3 presents data on amenity migrants' and job-seekers' pre-move employment status and current employment status, for household heads and spouses, separately. A higher proportion of the job-seekers (87%) were employed (full or part time) at the time of the move than the amenity movers (77%). Much of the difference can be explained in terms of the age difference between the two mover types and the higher incidence of retirement among the household heads of the amenity movers. However, the reverse is found among migrants' spouses. There is a slightly higher incidence of spouse employment among the amenity movers, 50 percent compared with 43 percent.

[Table 8.3 about here]

The question we raise now is what happens in the period between the time of the move and the present time? The data illustrate that in the period between the time of the move and the present time there was a shift to a higher level of involvement in the labor force for both job-seekers and their spouses. Among the job-seeker households, proportions of household heads employed increased from 87 percent to 93 percent, and spouse employment went from 43 percent to 49 percent (Table 8.3). Most of the shift consisted of people reentering the labor force, unlike the amenity movers who are experiencing reduced labor force participation. Among the amenity migrants, however, levels of employment dropped for both heads of households and spouses, the retirement level nearly doubled, and a sizeable number of spouses dropped out of the labor force.



Table 8.3 Job-Seekers' and Amenity Migrants' and Spouses Employment, Occupation, and Income Changes.

	Job-Seekers		Amenity Migrants	
	Household heads	Spouses	Household heads	Spouses
- - - - - Percent - - - - -				
1. <u>Pre-move Employment Status:</u>				
Employed	87	43	77	50
Unemployed	5	3	7	5
Retired	1	1	12	4
Not in labor force	7	53	4	41
2. <u>Current Employment Status:</u>				
Employed	93	49	71	39
Unemployed	3	5	4	2
Retired	3	2	22	9
Not in labor force	0	44	3	50
3. <u>Occupational Prestige Changes:</u>				
Same prestige category	58		57	
Lower prestige category	21		15	
Higher prestige category	21		28	
4. <u>Income Change--Portion Earning:</u>				
--more after move	42		16	
--less after move	30		55	
--approximately the same	28		29	



Both types of movers seem to have experienced beneficial employment status changes, but the job-seekers, as one would expect, had less employment disruptions or shifts in employment status. Unemployment was low prior to the move, and it is even lower currently. We have also been able to establish with other data (not shown) that all job seekers who were unemployed or employed part-time prior to the move are currently employed full time. Amenity movers, however, experienced more employment status disruptions; about seven percent of those who were employed full time before moving are currently out of work (data not shown). Some of these may be recent migrants, and as a result that figure should be regarded with some caution. In general, it seems that the job-seekers and amenity movers and their spouses have fared about equally well. Unemployment levels for heads have decreased. Many of the spouses have apparently found jobs and entered the labor force, and their unemployment level likewise is low.

In response to our question posed earlier about disruptions accompanying the moves, our findings suggest that neither group has had undue difficulty finding work. There are few apparent employment "costs" associated with the move for either migrant type. There have been employment status shifts, but these have been largely to retirement for the amenity movers, and into employment for the job-seekers. The data suggest that few have had problems with finding employment in these rural settings.

#### Occupational Changes

It is possible that while employment may not necessarily have been disrupted, a different sort of "cost" may have accompanied the move--a shift to a different and perhaps less prestigious occupation. It is a rather widespread conception that many urban movers are willing to, and do, take differ-



ent, lower paying, or less prestigious jobs when moving to a rural environment. Often, though, this phenomenon is explained in terms of the lack of diversity in rural occupational structures. Whatever the reason, we are trying to determine if there is any evidence that amenity migrants and job-seekers are more or less inclined to have either changed occupations or changed to less prestigious occupations.

We have to preface many of our remarks with statements of caution. In many of these comparisons we are dealing with relatively few cases, and while they provide some basis for discussing differences between the two migrant types, they are not a good basis for generalizations regarding employment patterns. Using the full array of Census occupational categories presented in Chapter 1, we determined what portion of the migrants in the labor force changed from one occupational category to another, the points of comparison being pre-move occupations and current (1977) occupation. The figures are quite similar for both mover types, and as a result we have not reported the shift in detail. Thirty-nine percent of the job-seekers and 36 percent of amenity migrants made a change in type of occupation, some to higher level occupations, others to lower occupations (data not shown). Beyond this comparison so few cases are involved that it becomes impossible to say much about specific types of changes.

Using the occupational prestige scores discussed earlier (Chapter 4), and the detailed occupations reported in Chapter 1, we were able to determine whether moves have involved changes in occupational prestige levels for those in the labor force before moving. In order to determine whether there was shifting up or down, or even whether occupational prestige remained the same after moving, we created five 20-point interval prestige categories and assigned prior and current occupations to one of these prestige categories. The occupational prestige-change categories



in Table 8.3 reflect the shifts which took place among the categories over the two time points. We see from Table 8.3 that in a little more than half the cases no change in prestige category was involved for both migrant types. They differ, though, on the direction of the shift. Job-seekers were more likely to have experienced a downward shift between the two points in time. A little over one in five of the job-seekers dropped to a lower occupational prestige category, compared with 15 percent of the amenity migrants; amenity movers were also more likely to have shifted to a higher prestige category. In neither case, however, are the differences likely to be significant.

#### Income Changes

Data in Table 8.3 are especially revealing about the income change experienced by the two mover groups in the year following the move. Over half of the amenity movers experienced a drop in income in the year just after the move; relatively few went up. This is not to argue necessarily that they have voluntarily given up higher paying jobs to maximize rural amenities. More likely it reflects the number of retirements that coincided with the amenity-based moves. Still, it is apparent that considerable more amenity movers had lower incomes than employment movers. This change is brought out more explicitly in comparisons of current and pre-move income distributions (data not presented), where we see that the job-seekers had an overall shift to higher incomes, in marked contrast with the amenity movers.

#### DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH IMPLICATIONS

The influx of metro area residents into rural areas is being viewed as a turnaround in more than numbers alone. Migrants of urban origin are assumed to bring a different set of perspectives or values to the communities and areas in which they relocate. In particular it is felt that they bring



vastly different conceptions of what is appropriate and desirable in the way of growth and development. It is not apparent in this view whether all or only specific types of migrants will have different views, or in what ways they will differ. Will they be much more receptive toward preserving the character and amenities of the areas to which they are attracted by adopting an anti-growth and development stance for these areas, or will they be more likely to be receptive to changes and put pressure on local governments to improve rural services and facilities and ultimately bring them more in line with those in their areas of origin?

There is reason to believe that the answer to these questions may be different for different types of migrants. Those motivated by the unattractiveness of cities and the attractiveness of rural areas may be concerned more with preserving the "ruralness" of their new residences, and assume a negative posture with regard to future growth and development issues. Similarly, those moving for employment reasons may be either less concerned about preserving presumed rural amenities or, conversely, more concerned with the development of rural areas.

The following section traces out job-seekers' and amenity migrants' attitudes toward several aspects of rural growth and development: receptivity toward public officials' development efforts, receptivity toward tax increases as a means of developing certain aspects of the community, and attitudes toward population growth.

The data reported in Table 8.4 show that there is at best a slight tendency for job-seekers to be more in favor of development efforts. Both migrant groups, however, are quite comparable and not very different from the overall sample which showed (Chapter VI) that a large proportion of the migrants are favorable to these different types of development efforts by public offi-



cials.

[Table 8.4 about here]

While the two types of movers are in agreement on development efforts by public officials, they are not equally receptive to improving the rural area by means of tax increases. The job-seekers are 6 to 16 percentage points more receptive to taxing for development (Table 8.4), with the exception of taxing to improve medical facilities. Perhaps this overall greater willingness to tax relates to the income positions of the two migrant groups, to the greater willingness of amenity/migrants to accept less in their new residences than the job-seekers, or perhaps more basically to their satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the current community. In other data (not presented) we found dissatisfaction with the current community to be higher for the job-seekers than for the amenity migrants, 10 percent versus 3 percent, respectively. It seems that the amenity migrants, who we should also recall are somewhat older and lower income, are more willing to forego improvements if it means increasing taxes. We might suggest that this is one of the trade-offs they have made in moving from an urban to a rural area. They are apparently ready to give up various improvements (Table 8.4), including several which they felt were better in their former residence, to keep costs of living lower.

Another way of looking at the same data in Table 8.4 would be to point out the overall unwillingness of both groups to raise taxes. The proportions reporting a willingness to improve community services and facilities are, with one exception (Roads), in the minority for all items and for both mover types.

We have argued earlier (Chapter I) that migrants' perspectives on development issues reflect an unwillingness to support strategies which involve direct costs to the migrants themselves as would be reflected in higher



Table 8.4. Amenity and Employment Migrants' Perspectives on Development and Growth

Question:	Employment movers (N=122)	Amenity movers (N=138)
	- - - Percent - - - -	
1. Should elected officials try to:		
---keep factories out of area	21	21
---attract tourists and promote recreation	85	84
---develop the business district of the community	90	86
---attract new residents to the area	78	74
2. Taxes should be increased to:		
---improve schools	48	29
---build parks	43	33
---improve medical facilities	49	48
---improve police protection	41	33
---improve area roads	50	43
---provide services for senior citizens	45	36



taxes. There is not, however, an aversion to strategies which would develop rural areas, even though some long-term or indirect costs might be involved. As an example of this preference on the part of migrants, we can point out that there is substantial support for industrial development, development via tourism, and population growth, as shown in the upper part of Table 8.4.

#### INVOLVEMENT OF MIGRANTS IN THEIR NEW RESIDENCES

We have fairly well dispelled the notion that amenity movers are more disposed toward maintaining the "ruralness" of their areas than the job-seekers. And if we compare responses in the previous section with those obtained earlier in Chapter VI, we see that the perspectives of these groups are not very different from those of residents on growth and development issues. The amenity movers are somewhat more opposed to community improvements involving additional taxes, but this reluctance probably has more to do with their economic position rather than some desire to preserve the character of rural areas.

There are cases of research on specific amenity-rich areas where it has been shown that newcomers have had a high level of involvement in the locality, presumably as one means for affecting the decision making process (Hennigh, 1978) and of assuring that the area does not change (Graeber, 1974; Cockerham and Blevins, 1977). Since our amenity mover sample has no distinctive view regarding local growth and development issues, it is not likely that motivation for local involvement is particularly strong among them. There are, however, other reasons for involvement, but not much justification for speculation why one mover group should be different from the other.

In terms of the extent to which they hold memberships in local organizations, the amenity and employment migrants are almost identical (data not



shown). About a third of each group reports having held on elected positions in local organizations, with about a 4 percent difference between the mover groups, and both mover groups are identical on participation in local clubs and organizations. Equal portions (38%) belong to no clubs or organizations; 49 percent belong to less than three. Thus, on both measures of involvement the two groups are practically identical, with no basis for arguing that the amenity movers are going to be more involved in their localities.

#### MOBILITY INTENTIONS OF EMPLOYMENT AND AMENITY MOVERS

The ultimate impact issue concerns the permanence of recent migrants in their new residences. The question here is whether job-seekers are more permanent in their new residences than the amenity movers. There is some reason to believe that if they are economic maximizers, they would be more receptive to employment opportunities--wherever they existed--and be less concerned with the inherent qualities of an area. By contrast amenity movers would be quite content to stay if they have attained the amenities they sought in rural living.

The data in Table 8.5 support this line of reasoning. A considerably higher percentage of the amenity movers prefer to stay where they are; few expect to move within the next three years (Table 8.5). The job-seekers appear to be much more mobile on both of these mobility measures. We see also that the two groups differ on residential preferences for those expecting to leave, with the job-seekers much more likely to express a preference for big city (12%) and large town living (25%) than the amenity movers who basically prefer more rural residences. In summary, the job-seekers are somewhat less committed to living in their present communities, they expect more future mobility, and given the choice, if and when they move, they are more likely than the amenity movers to prefer larger urban areas (37% vs. 14%).

[Table 8.5 about here]



Table 8.5 Mobility Expectations and Residential Preferences of Amenity and Employment Movers Among the Metro Migrants.

Mobility Expectations and Preferred Residence	Job-seekers (N = 122)	Amenity movers (N = 138)
	Percent	
1. Prefer to live in another community	25	5
2. Expect to move within next three years	38	16
3. Preferred type of residence for those expecting to move within next three years		
Big city	12	2
Large town	25	12
Small town	13	14
Countryside	40	49
Farm	10	23



## SUMMARY

The preceding analyses provide us with some insights into the similarities and differences between two specific mover groups which make up a large portion of our urban to rural stream. At one time or another popular attention has focused on the differences between these mover groups, their relative impacts on destination areas, and their permanence in their new residences. We have suggested earlier that areas which may attract one type of mover rather than the other might be affected differently, insofar as the motivation for moving tends to select different types of individuals and households out of the urban area. Our data have shown this to be a correct assumption, with certain qualifications.

Amenity movers, as one might expect, generally come from larger urban places and relocate in the smaller and more rural places. They also tend to be somewhat older and less educated, but there are no major household composition differences. Occupationally, and in terms of occupational prestige, the two groups are quite similar. On pre-move income they were also identical. These comparisons do not provide much evidence to suggest, however, that those moving for amenity reasons are the upper middle-class movers often alluded to in popular reporting on urbanites fleeing cities for more rural environments. At least, they are no more middle-class than migrants moving for an entirely different reason--employment.

The job-seekers seem to be much more concerned with employment, as one would expect given the reason for leaving the metro residence. Almost all who want to work are working, and over time there has been a trend toward increased involvement of both heads and spouses in the labor force. Financially, they have done quite well, with about 70 percent earning the same



or more in the year after the move than in the year prior to the move. Thus, for a large portion of these movers there has been very little financial disruption. All of this is in clear contrast to what we see for the amenity movers, although the comparison can be misleading because some of the amenity movers have coupled the move with retirement or retired since the move to the nonmetro residence. Many of their spouses also either have retired or dropped out of the labor force between the time of the move and the time of the survey. All of these would have a bearing on household income.

While the job-seekers have improved their incomes by moving, they were slightly more likely to have done so at the expense of occupational prestige than the amenity movers; about a fifth of all job-seekers changed to jobs in a lower prestige category, compared with less than one in six for the amenity movers. Still the majority of both remained at the same occupational prestige level or moved up.

Finally, we found few differences between the two mover types on attitudes toward several development strategies. The amenity migrants were, however, somewhat more reluctant (an 8% to 9% difference is typical) to favor tax increases than the job-seekers. Similarly, the groups had identical levels of participation in their local communities. There is thus no reason to believe that amenity migrants become overly involved in local affairs, or represent a distinctive perspective on local/<sup>economic</sup> growth and development issues.

As one might expect of the job-seekers, they are attuned to opportunities elsewhere and as a result are somewhat more mobile when compared with the amenity migrants. They are more dissatisfied with their current communities, have a much higher expectation of moving, and given a choice of type of residence, slightly more than a third (37%) of those expecting to move



would prefer living in a big city or large town.

In this analysis we have been able to clear up some of the misconceptions which exist about these specific mover groups. We have seen, first of all, that the so-called amenity movers do not easily fit the stereotype which has been promoted and reinforced in reports of "middle class escapism" or "elitism gone to the country for cure." (Time, 1976). We have shown that in general they are not uniquely upper middle class. In fact, the job-seekers may more closely fit the middle-class stereotype than the amenity movers.

We are also able to allay fears that amenity movers, at least at this point in time, are going to represent a distinctly anti-growth or anti-development attitude, or that they are going to involve themselves extensively in local affairs to promote this view. They are not against growth or development, and they are no more likely than the job-seekers (or all other movers, for that matter) to participate in local affairs and activities. Case studies which describe local situations at variance with our findings may well be accurate descriptions of the impact newcomers have. All we have shown is that, at a <sup>regional level,</sup> broad/ they are not likely to be more conservative or participative locally.



## Chapter IX

### THE OLDER METROPOLITAN MIGRANT AS A FACTOR IN RURAL POPULATION GROWTH Nina G. Stuart

In migration decision-making it is assumed that migrants attempt to maximize personal benefits while minimizing personal costs of the move. Economic as well as noneconomic factors may thus be pertinent considerations in the decision to move. The present chapter focuses on migration strategies of elderly urban to rural migrants by examining motivations for the move and the efficacy of the move for older migrants involved in the population turnaround. A "gain-loss" analytic framework is utilized in assessing changes which accompany their moves, the extent of migrant ties to the destination area, and migrants' perceptions of the quality of life in the current place of residence compared to the prior residence. We then analyze attitudes toward community growth and development and increases in local taxes to get a perspective on the type of community elderly migrants prefer. Finally, to infer whether nonmetropolitan areas have met the perceived needs of older metro migrants, we examine their mobility intentions. The data presented in the chapter will help elucidate the consequences of the move for elderly migrants as well as some of the possible impacts of elderly migration on nonmetropolitan growth areas.

Prior research has shown that migration is related to age, with younger age groups migrating more frequently than the elderly. Among the elderly who do migrate, however, retirement is often the precipitating event (Chevan and Fisher, 1978), and quality of life rather than economic factors are the main determinants (Cebula, 1974). The decision to move may be made well before retirement, but migration often occurs with retirement and the associated freedom from job location constraints (Dailey et al., 1977). Warm



climate is an especially important influence on destination selection of elderly migrants. The large majority of all elderly net migration occurs in the "sunshine states." Availability of medical and recreational facilities are other features of areas which attract a disproportionately high number of older migrants (Cebula, 1974).

The elderly have contributed prominently to the reverse migration pattern. Tucker (1976) and Wang and Beegle (1977) report that the elderly have shown the most dramatic increase of any age cohort in metro to non-metro migration. Furthermore, Williams (1978), in an analysis of the North Central Region, and DeLind (1978), using case study data, provide documentation that the early immigrants in the turnaround flow were mainly retirement age persons. As the developmental impacts of elderly migration became apparent, a substantial proportion of the later wave of immigrants was composed of younger persons. Beale (1975; 1978) has suggested that the growth of recreation and retirement activities have been important explanatory factors in the turnaround phenomenon and that scenic beauty, outdoor activities and the promise of a more relaxed life-style are the attributes which have attracted migrants to the reversal growth counties. Also, many of the rapidly growing areas are in the colder regions of the country, not just the warm weather areas.

Researchers examining motivations for moving and destination selection among the urban elderly relocating in particular rural areas of the Midwest offer a number of possible reasons. Wang and Beegle (1977) suggest that problems due to retirement (e.g., reduced level of living) and fulfillment of residential preferences are the broad concerns affecting residential mobility of the elderly. Koebernick and Beegle (1978) analyzed data from



a sample of elderly metro to nonmetro migrants in a Michigan county and found that anti-urban and pro-rural sentiments were given by a majority of the movers as the reason for leaving the city. Retirement, escape from the economic disadvantages of the city, especially high cost of living and taxes, and unsatisfactory social networks were some of the other reasons given for leaving. On the other hand, social ties which developed from previous visiting and vacationing, property ownership and social networks were the most frequently cited reasons for choosing the destination area. A substantial proportion of the sample also gave a preference for rural amenities as the reason for the choice of destination (Koebernick and Beegle, 1978).

Few data are available on the status characteristics, ties and attitudes of older metropolitan migrants. In the Michigan case study, Koebernick and Beegle (1978) show that most elderly immigrants are married couples in their relatively early retirement years. Many had ties in the area prior to the move. Most were homeowners before moving and an even greater percentage became homeowners in the new residence. Further, most reported satisfaction with the move and did not plan to move again in the near future.

Two types of comparison are important for the purposes of this chapter; first, older migrants (age 60 and over) will be compared with younger migrants to determine differences in motivations for moving, gains and losses and attitudes toward the community; second, older migrants will be compared with older residents to determine if the two groups differ in their experiences in and attitudes toward the local community. Age groups are defined on the basis of the year of birth of household heads. The metro elderly migrants are thus defined as heads of households 60 years of age and over who moved from a metropolitan residence (N=159). Younger metropolitan



migrants are defined as household heads under 60 years of age ( $N = 342$ ).

The rural resident elderly are household heads 60 years of age and over who were living in the nonmetropolitan area prior to 1970 ( $N = 176$ ).

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF ELDERLY MIGRANTS

In this section we provide a description of older metro migrants' background characteristics. The questions asked are: How large a fraction are the elderly in the high growth counties? Who are they? What stratum of society do they come from? What are their origins and destinations? These data will serve to acquaint us with the backgrounds of elderly migrants, provide insights into the impact migration has had on the elderly, and point out some of the preferences older migrants have exercised in relocating in their new residences. The discussion is structured in gain versus loss terms, and, where appropriate, data are presented on migrant characteristics prior to and after moving. This will allow us to determine some of the consequences of the move for older migrants. Older migrants are also compared with younger migrants and rural resident elderly on their characteristics.

#### Elderly Proportion of the Inmigrant Stream

Persons 60 years of age and over comprise 32 percent of the sample of metropolitan to nonmetropolitan migrants. This is consistent with the findings of another recent study (DeLind, 1978), in which older migrants were shown to be a substantial, although not the dominant, portion of the reverse migration. Elderly migration has the potential to effect nonmetropolitan areas in several ways. The age structure of communities may be altered and the dependency ratio increased, given that a large inflow of retirees would reduce the proportion of the adult population in the labor force. Since women have a greater life expectancy than men, elderly



migration may also change the sex ratio of communities. In addition, elderly migration may result in increased demand for particular local government services and help stimulate growth in the service sector of the local economy. Certainly, the older portion of the migration stream is sufficiently large to alert the attention of policy makers to the special needs of the elderly.

#### Demographic and Housing Characteristics

A descriptive summary of the migrants and migrant households is presented in Table 9.1. The metro migrant elderly and the resident elderly differ on age, with 68 the mean age of elderly migrant household heads and 73 the mean age of rural elderly household heads. The mean age of younger migrant heads is 38. As in the Koebernick and Beegle (1978) case study, elderly migrants in this study are generally in their relatively early retirement years.

[Table 9.1 about here]

The household composition of elderly migrants and rural resident elderly is predominantly married couples without children (63 and 56 %, respectively) or single person households (21 and 27%). This stands in contrast to the dominant mode of household composition among younger migrants which is married couples with children (62%). Given the differences in age and life cycle stage of the groups represented in the analysis, these findings are not surprising. With the sample of resident elderly being older and more likely to be widowed (a separate analysis of marital status not shown in the table confirms this), one would expect to find a higher proportion of single-person and a lower proportion of couple households among the resident than the migrant elderly. Similarly, one would expect children to be present in many younger households, whereas one would



Table 9.1 Household and Housing Characteristics of Older Metro Migrants, Younger Metro Migrants, and Rural Elderly.

Household and housing characteristics	Metro elderly (N=159)	Metro young (N=342)	Rural resident elderly (N=176)
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
Household composition:			
Single-person household	21	8	27
Married couple only	63	19	55
Married couple with children	10	62	7
Other	6	11	11
Type of housing, current (pre-move):			
Single family conventional	78 (81)	83 (67)	86 --
Multiple family	4 (15)	4 (27)	6 --
Mobile home	17 (3)	12 (5)	7 --
Other (rooming house, etc.)	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 --
Housing tenure, current (pre-move):			
Own	90 (82)	81 (59)	87 --
Rent	7 (17)	17 (40)	12 --
Live with relative or employer provided housing	3 (1)	2 (1)	1 --



expect few couple-with-children households among the elderly migrants.

It has been shown that single family homes are the preferred type of housing unit, and that home owners are generally more satisfied with their housing than renters (Marans and Rodgers, 1975). In Chapter IV it was found that most metro migrants lived in single family homes in both the former and current places of residence, and that a "gain" in the proportion of single family dwellers occurred with the move. With the change in residence, the proportion of homeowners also increased. Comparing elderly and younger metro migrants on housing and tenure changes that accompanied the move, we find that a majority of both older and younger migrants lived in single family housing in the former and the current residences (pre-move data are presented in parentheses in Table 9.1). However, the elderly experienced slight downward mobility as a result of the move in the proportions residing in single family homes (from 81 to 78%), while the proportion of younger migrants in single family dwellings increased rather substantially from 67 to 83 percent. The proportions living in mobile homes increased among both the elderly (from 3 to 17%) and the younger metro migrants (from 5 to 12%). Across the two locations the shift among younger migrants in type of housing was away from apartments and duplexes to more single-family and mobile home living. Although the metro elderly "lost" slightly in conventionally preferred single-family housing as a result of the move, some of the change probably reflects differences in housing needs at their particular life cycle stage.

Elderly migrants and the resident elderly are quite similar in their types of housing (Table 9.1). However, a higher proportion of the rural resident than migrant elderly live in single family dwellings (86 versus



78%), while fewer live in mobile homes (8 compared to 17%). Thus, the rural elderly are more likely to live in what is generally regarded as the preferred type of housing than metro migrant elderly, although the difference is not great.

Shifts in housing tenure were associated with the move for both older and younger migrants (Table 9.1). In the current residence, the percent owning their own homes increased from 82 to 90 percent among the elderly migrants and from 59 to 81 percent among younger migrants. There were corresponding decreases in the proportions of renters across the two time periods. The increase in the proportions of homeowners, especially dramatic among younger migrants, is suggestive of cheaper and more readily available housing in nonmetropolitan areas.

In the current residence, elderly migrants (90%) are even slightly more likely than the rural resident elderly (87%) to be homeowners. Of course, elderly migrants are more likely than the resident elderly to live in mobile homes, which are cheaper to own than single family homes. At any rate, there was an upward shift in home ownership for both older and younger migrants moving from metro to nonmetro areas.

#### Socioeconomic Characteristics

Elderly migrants who cross state boundaries tend to be high in social status in comparison with nonmobile elderly and elderly local movers (Chevan and Fisher, 1978; Wiseman and Roseman, 1978). Little is known, however, about the socioeconomic status of elderly households moving to rural areas of the North Central Region. Information on educational, occupational and income status and status changes are presented which will allow us to speculate on the elderly portion of the migration stream as a resource transfer



or transfer of a dependent population to nonmetropolitan areas. Also, some of the socioeconomic consequences of the move for elderly migrants are shown.

In the general population, young adults are better educated than older adults, and urbanites have higher educational levels than residents of rural areas. The findings of this study are consistent with U.S. patterns. The educational level of older migrants is lower than the level of younger migrants but higher than that of the resident elderly sample (Table 9.2).  
[Table 9.2 about here]

In looking at employment status of heads of household (Table 9.2), we see that in the former residence most ~~metro~~ elderly were either employed (53%) or retired (41%), whereas, in the current residence, most elderly migrants are retired (84%). Thus, although a substantial proportion of the metro elderly were already retired prior to moving, many undertook the move at the time of their retirement from the labor force. The younger migrant household heads were predominantly employed in both the former (80%) and the current residence (85%). It was reported in Chapter IV that a change in employment status from "employed" to "retired" coincided with the move for a substantial portion of the metropolitan migrants. It is clear from Table 9.2 that the large majority of migrants who retired from the labor force upon moving were 60 years of age or over, although there was also a slight increase in the proportion of retirees among the younger household heads as well.

It is worth noting that a substantially greater proportion of rural resident elderly (21%) than elderly migrants (10%) was employed at the time of the interview, and fewer resident elderly (68%) than migrant elderly (84%) were retired (Table 9.2). As we will see in the next section on residence characteristics, a higher proportion of the resident than the migrant



Table 9.2 Socioeconomic Characteristics of Metro Elderly and Metro Young Migrants, and the Rural Resident Elderly.

Socioeconomic characteristics	Metro elderly	Metro young	Rural resident elderly
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
Education:			
Less than high school	72	59	79
High school	17	21	16
College	11	20	5
Employment status, head of household (pre-move employment status in parentheses):			
Employed	10(53)	85(80)	21--
Unemployed	0 (0)	3 (7)	0--
Retired	84(41)	9 (5)	68--
Not in labor force	6 (6)	3 (8)	11--
Pre-move occupational classification, head of household:			
Upper white collar	33	37	--
Lower white collar	16	14	--
Blue collar	51	49	--
Income, 1976 (pre-move income in parentheses):			
Under \$10,000	74(42)	37(39)	86--
\$10,000 and over	26(58)	63(61)	14--



elderly report living on farms. Therefore, it is likely that many of the resident elderly who are still in the labor force are self-employed farmers. In fact, the difference between resident and migrant elderly on the proportions employed (16 percent more of the elderly rural residents are employed) closely corresponds with the difference in farm residence (17 percent more rural resident elderly than migrant elderly live on farms).

Among household heads employed in the prior residence (Table 9.2), older and younger migrants were approximately equally distributed across occupational classifications. About a third of both the older and younger migrant household heads held upper white collar jobs in the urban residence, while about half of each age group were in blue collar occupations. Elderly migrants, despite their lower level of education, were as likely as the younger household heads to hold high status occupations, a finding which may be indicative of advantages accrued through job seniority. Comparison of age groups on current occupations was not made since so few of the elderly migrants remain in the labor force.

Elderly migrants compare rather favorably with younger migrants and the rural resident elderly on income. Pre-move income levels of elderly and younger migrants were roughly comparable, even though a considerably higher proportion of the elderly than younger household heads were retired (41% compared to 5%). As one might expect with the increase in the proportion of elderly retirees, however, elderly households "lost" in income from the year prior to the move to their 1976, after-the-move income.

The current (1976) incomes of elderly migrants were substantially higher than those of the rural resident elderly. Twenty-six percent of the metro elderly migrants had incomes over \$10,000 for the year, while only



14 percent of the rural resident elderly reported incomes in the \$10,000+ income bracket. ~~The~~ data not shown in the table, we also found that whereas 36 percent of the elderly migrants reported incomes below \$5,000, fully 63 percent of the resident elderly reported incomes that low.

Although it is apparent that many elderly migrants have reached the stage in their lives where they are living on reduced income, they are relatively more affluent than the rural resident elderly. Furthermore, their income and occupational experiences in the former residence were quite similar to those of the younger, better-educated metro migrants. Considering that elderly migrants live mainly in small, married couple household units, it does not appear that elderly metro to nonmetro migration represents the transfer of a largely dependent population.

#### Residence Characteristics

Elderly migrants differ very little from the younger portion of the migration stream in size of places of origin; both age groups moved predominantly from large metropolitan centers of over 250,000 population (Table 9.3). In their choice of destination, however, a disproportionately high percentage of elderly migrants moved to the smallest of the nonmetropolitan communities. Ninety percent of the elderly migrants are in or near places of under 5,000 population, whereas comparable figures for younger migrants and rural resident elderly are 80 and 81 percent, respectively.

[Table 9.3 about here]

If we look at type of residence (Table 9.3), we again find that elderly migrants differ from younger migrants and long-term elderly residents. Over half of the elderly migrants live in open country, nonfarm residences, 34 percent in towns, and 12 percent on farms. The pattern of residence among younger migrants is similar. An equal proportion of the younger mi- has relocated in towns (34%), but fewer chose nonfarm, countryside residences



Table 9.3 Residence Characteristics of Migrant Age Groups and Resident Elderly

Residence characteristics	Metro elderly %	Metro young %	Rural resident elderly %
Size of place of origin:			
less than 5,000	9	12	--
5,000 to 49,999	29	25	--
50,000 to 249,999	26	28	--
250,000 and over	36	35	--
Size of place of current residence:			
less than 1,000	50	46	50
1,000 to 4,999	40	34	31
5,000 to 24,999	10	18	18
25,000 to 49,999	0	1	1
Type of residence:			
In town	34	34	49
On farm	12	25	29
Open country non-farm	54	41	22



(41%), and a correspondingly larger proportion live on farms (25%). Residence patterns of elderly migrants and the rural elderly differ considerably; approximately two-thirds of the metropolitan elderly are living in the countryside or on farms, compared with about half (51%) of the long-term elderly. The resident elderly are more likely than migrant elderly to live on farms, probably farms they have been living on for years.

The above data on residence characteristics indicate a strong preference among elderly migrants for the smaller, relatively more rural locations in nonmetropolitan areas. Further, elderly migrants show a preference for countryside as opposed to town living, preferring also nonfarm rather than farm living. Elderly migrants in comparison with the rural elderly, and even the younger migrants, however, have put themselves at a relative disadvantage to shopping and services. Elderly migrants live greater distances from the centers of towns and, although the differences are not large, they travel farther than the resident elderly and the younger migrants to obtain most services (the data are not presented here, but for information on the types of services examined, see the section in Chapter V on "service sector integration"). Further, the two-thirds of the elderly migrants who have located on farms or in open country areas may experience greater problems than the elderly residing in towns in availing themselves of special services for senior citizens, although we can merely speculate on that as a possibility.

#### ELDERLY MIGRANTS' MOTIVATIONS FOR MOVING

We pointed out earlier (Chapter VIII) that the migrant samples were made up primarily of households moving for environmental and employment reasons. Among elderly migrants, however, retirement is expected to assume greater importance as a motivating factor in the move. The desire for



rural amenities and social ties to the area of destination have been indicated as important motivating factors in the choice of destination among the urban elderly moving to rural areas (Koebernick and Beegle, 1978).

Table 9.4 shows that retirement, indeed, was most often given by elderly migrants as the reason for leaving the metropolitan area, while environmental factors were the reason cited by 33 percent of the migrant found elderly. Koebernick and Beegle (1978), on the other hand, that environmental reasons, followed by retirement, were the most frequently given reasons for leaving the urban area. The data we present suggest that retirement was most often the event leading to a search for a new residence, although it is apparent that environmental factors also played a substantial role in the decision of many elderly to leave the metro area. In contrast, employment is much more important in younger migrants' decisions to leave the urban area.

[Table 9.4 about here]

In looking at reasons for choosing the area of destination (Table 9.4), we see that a majority of elderly migrants (58%) cite ties to the destination area as the motivating factor. This finding is consistent with Koebernick and Beegle's (1978) results on choice of destination. A large proportion of elderly migrants (35%) gave environmental, or amenity, reasons for choosing the destination area. Among younger migrants, the move was motivated by ties, especially, but also/employment and amenity reasons.

#### MIGRANTS' TIES IN DESTINATION AREAS

As we have already seen, ties to the area of destination were quite important in affecting the choice of location among the older migrants. In this section we present data documenting the extent of and types of ties of elderly and younger migrants in the destination area prior to the move.

Elderly migrants report extensive ties to the area of destination;



Table 9.4 -- Motivations For the Move of Elderly and Younger Migrants.

Motivations for move	Elderly migrants %	Younger migrants %
Reasons for leaving the prior residence:		
Employment	4	34
Ties	10	6
Environmental	33	44
Retirement	44	5
Other	9	11
Reasons for choosing the area of destination:		
Employment	2	30
Ties	59	39
Environmental	35	27
Retirement	2	1
Other	2	3



less than 20 percent had not known anyone in the area prior to moving (Table 9.5). In terms of social network ties, elderly migrants were twice as likely as younger migrants to have children living in the area. However, one might expect a higher proportion of older migrants to have children in the destination area, since younger migrants are more likely than older migrants to have children still living at home. On the other hand, a higher proportion of the younger than the older migrants were moving to areas where other relatives lived. Looking at the proportions who had friends or acquaintances in the destination area prior to the move, we find that older migrants were somewhat more likely than younger migrants to have known someone. In all, about two-thirds of both migrant age groups had social network ties of one type or another in the destination area prior to moving there.

[Table 9.5 about here]

Older migrants and younger migrants were equally likely to be return migrants or to have spouses who had lived in the area before (Table 9.5). However, older migrants were twice as likely as younger migrants to have owned property in the area prior to the move. Among the nonreturn migrants, the elderly had had greater contact with the destination area than younger migrants through vacations (68% versus 56%) and visits with friends and relatives (66% versus 44%).

Elderly migrants chose areas more on the basis of ties and did, in fact, have more extensive ties to areas than younger migrants. Almost a third of the elderly established ties for their retirement by buying property in the area. And, while most elderly migrants were not returning to their former residences, they did locate where they had friends. The high proportion of elderly migrants who had vacationed in destination areas suggests that the availability of recreational and retirement activities,



Table 9.5 Ties to the Area of Destination of Elderly and Younger Migrants

Ties to the area of destination	Elderly migrants %	Younger migrants %
No ties	17	26
Social networks:		
Children living in area (within 30 miles)	17	8
Other relatives living in area	48	61
Friends and/or acquaintances living in area	65	56
Owned property in area prior to the move	30	16
Return migrants:		
Head of household	24	25
Spouse	20	21
Contacts of non-return migrants:		
Vacationed in area prior to move	68	56
Visited friends and/or relatives in area prior to move	66	48



cited by Beale (1975), are important factors in nonmetropolitan area growth. That may also have been the means for establishing contacts in the destination area.

#### GAINS AND LOSSES IN QUALITY OF LIFE

Prior research has not examined metropolitan elderly migrants' perceptions of gains and losses in quality of life experience, yet we know that moving from one community to another involves tradeoffs. Here, we assess the impact of migration on migrants themselves by looking at community satisfaction in the former and the current residence<sup>s</sup> with questions which asked whether the current residence had more, the same, or less of a particular quality than the former residence.

#### Community Satisfaction in the Former and Current Residence

In this section we use migrants' ratings of their satisfaction in both the prior and current residences. On each of the items, the "percent satisfied" reflects those responding "somewhat satisfied" or "very satisfied." The difference scores indicate whether satisfaction was higher in the current (positive sign) or former residence (-).

In the prior residence (Table 9.6), both older and younger migrants were especially satisfied with the availability of medical care, shopping facilities, and the availability of employment (greater than 90 percent of the elderly reported satisfaction with each of those residence features). Older and younger migrants alike were considerably less satisfied with local tax rates (56%<sup>9</sup> and 52%, respectively) in the prior residence than with any other community attributes. On all items except the availability of public transportation, younger migrants were consistently less satisfied with community characteristics of the former residence than older migrants.  
[Table 9.6 about here]



Table 9.6 Community Satisfaction In the Prior and the Current Residences, by Migrant Age Groups.

Community attribute	Metro elderly			Metro young		
	Prior residence	Current residence	Difference <sup>2</sup>	Prior residence	Current residence	Difference
	----- Percent satisfied -----			-----		
Availability of medical care	96	64	(-32)	94	74	(-20)
Shopping facilities	94	73	(-21)	94	61	(-33)
Availability of employment	93	50	(-43)	86	48	(-38)
Friendliness of neighbors	92	96	(+4)	78	97	(+19)
Quality of public schools	88	88	(0)	74	87	(+13)
Outdoor recreational opportunity	86	90	(+4)	75	93	(+18)
Maintenance of streets and roads	85	87	(+2)	79	79	(0)
Programs for senior citizens	85	87	(+2)	80	89	(+9)
Availability of public transportation	73	47	(-26)	75	45	(-30)
Local tax rates	56	74	(+18)	52	75	(+23)
Overall satisfaction	86	96	(+10)	75	94	(+19)

<sup>2</sup>A positive difference indicates higher satisfaction in the current residence; a negative difference indicates higher satisfaction in the former residence.



In the current residence (Table 9.6) both the elderly and the younger migrants are most satisfied with the friendliness of neighbors, outdoor recreational opportunities, the quality of public schools and senior citizens' programs. Also, substantially higher proportions of the older and younger migrants are satisfied with local tax rates in the current than in the former residence. Community attributes, of the current residence for which elderly and younger migrants expressed the least amount of satisfaction, are shopping facilities, the availability of medical care, the availability of employment and the availability of public transportation. With the exception of public transportation, which received relatively low satisfaction ratings in both communities, the attributes receiving highest satisfaction ratings in the prior residence were the residence features with which the migrants were least satisfied in the current residence.

These data indicate that, indeed, tradeoffs were made in the "quality" of particular residence features of the metropolitan versus the nonmetropolitan residence. Whereas elderly migrants consistently expressed higher levels of satisfaction with specific community attributes of the prior residence than younger migrants, levels of satisfaction on particular features in the current residence are approximately equal for older and younger migrants. The elderly, however, seem to view the availability of medical care as especially problematic, thus expressing a lower level of satisfaction on that item than younger migrants.

The rural resident elderly showed greater satisfaction than urban elderly on all attributes of the nonmetropolitan residence except local tax rates, with which resident elderly were less satisfied (Table 9.7).



Length of residence has been shown to be positively related to community satisfaction (Marans and Rodgers, 1975), and thus, may explain why long-term resident elderly are more satisfied with the attributes of the community than elderly migrants.

[Table 9.7 about here]

In both communities, overall level of satisfaction was higher among elderly than younger migrants, a finding consistent with community satisfaction research (Marans and Rodgers, 1975) which shows a positive relationship between age and satisfaction with the community. On overall satisfaction, both older and younger migrants are more satisfied in the current residence than they were in the prior residence. In contrast, levels of satisfaction with specific community features tend to be higher in the prior than in the current residence. Elderly migrants and elderly residence show about equal levels of overall community satisfaction.

Generally, we may conclude that the social environment, outdoor recreation and lower tax rates are perceived gains in the move to the nonmetropolitan area, while the availability of medical care, shopping facilities, employment and public transportation are viewed as losses in moving to a rural area. These data indicate that elderly migrants find the nonmetropolitan communities satisfactory on the tie and amenity factors which attracted them to rural areas.

#### Comparison of Residences on "Quality of Life" Criteria

Migrants' perceptions or subjective evaluations, of the current place of residence compared with the former residence are used to further assess gains and losses in quality of life. The questions characterizing whether the new residence had more, the same or less of a particular quality than the former residence are paraphrased in Table 9.8. To simplify the data presentation, the proportions saying the former residence was better have



Table 9.7 Community Satisfaction in the Current Residence, Metro and Rural Resident Elderly.

Community attribute	Metro elderly	Rural resident elderly	Difference <sup>2</sup>
		percent satisfied	
Availability of medical care	64	81	+17
Shopping facilities	73	85	+12
Availability of employment	50	80	+30
Friendliness of neighbors	96	98	+2
Quality of public schools	88	93	+5
Outdoor recreational opportunity	90	94	+4
Maintenance of streets and roads	82	87	+5
Programs for senior citizens	87	93	+6
Availability of public transportation	47	68	+21
Local tax rates	74	68	-6
Overall satisfaction	96	97	+1

<sup>2</sup>A positive difference indicates higher community satisfaction among rural resident elderly; a negative difference indicates higher satisfaction of metro elderly migrants.



been omitted from the table.

[Table 9.8 about here]

The reported gain in quality of life from moving is high for both older and younger migrants, although the younger migrants show a stronger tendency than the elderly to rate the current residence as the better community. On items of personal safety and well-being (the first grouping of items in Table 9.8), it was only on the question of being "closer to family" that older and younger migrants reported a loss in quality of life as a result of moving from the former place of residence. On all other items in this grouping both older and younger migrants report gains in quality of life as a consequence of the move. (See Chapter IV for an elaborated discussion of gains and losses in quality of life of metro migrants in general).

Looking at the quality of life indicators on weather and the environment (Table 9.8), we find that most metropolitan migrants, both old and young, perceive the nonmetropolitan environment as healthier than the urban environment. Slightly less than half of the metro migrants considered themselves to have gained with regard to the weather and a substantial proportion of migrants perceived no change in the weather between the two residences. Given the largely intraregional character of nonmetropolitan growth in the North Central Region (Chapter II) and the small variations throughout in the weather, it is not surprising that fewer than a majority perceived a gain in life quality related to weather.

The large majority of both younger and older metro migrants perceive the rural residence as the better place to raise children. A substantial minority of older and younger migrants (43% and 45%) also responded that schools are better in the current residence, even though the quality of rural schools is often not favorably compared with the quality of urban schools.

The last two quality of life items in Table 9.8 examine migrants'



Table 9.8 Migrants' Responses to "Quality of Life" Questions

"Quality of life" questions....	Metro elderly		Metro young	
	More so here	Same here as there	More so here	Same here as there
	- - - - - percent - - - - -			
The neighbors are friendlier	52	37	59	25
I feel safer	80	18	83	14
I am closer to family	27	17	42	14
There is more privacy	70	15	78	5
The environment is healthier	91	7	91	5
The weather is better	46	36	43	31
It's a better place to raise children	83	6	89	7
The schools are better	43	21	45	20
Tax rates are lower	62	20	71	8
It costs less to live	40	33	44	21



perceptions of tax rates and costs of living. A majority of both migrant groups, but the younger more so than the older, perceive themselves as "gainers" with lower tax rates in the new residence. Perceived gains in cost of living were more modest; only 40 and 44 percent of older and younger migrants felt the cost of living was lower in the new, nonmetro residence. As suggested earlier (Chapter IV), it is somewhat surprising that migrants did not perceive that the former, metro residence had been decidedly higher in living costs.

In general, both older and younger migrants perceived a gain in quality of life by moving from an urban to a rural high-growth area. The positive impact was somewhat more pronounced for the younger than the older migrants, although it is not clear just why this is the case. Both old and young migrants "lost" only in relation to nearness of kin by moving to the nonmetro residence.

#### ATTITUDES TOWARD COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT

Not only does migration have an impact on the migrants themselves, but it also has consequences for the social organization of the receiving community. As Schwarzweller (1978) has pointed out, growth in an area often has positive and negative consequences. Immigrants may bring with them resources and leadership capabilities which give the community new energy; it may also put a strain on the social organization of the community, especially if immigrants and long term residents are at odds on community growth and development issues. In this section we examine migrants' attitudes toward community growth and development and toward community improvement through tax increases. There data will give us some idea of elderly migrants' preferences for the organization of their new community, and provide information on areas of community improvement that are of special concern to the elderly.



Although the differences are not large, the metro migrant elderly are more receptive to community growth and development than either younger metro migrants or the rural resident elderly (Table 9.9). Of the three comparison groups, younger migrants are the least oriented to growth and development, but one could hardly say that they are opposed.  
[Table 9.9 about here]

The data in Table 9.9 indicate that elderly migrants would be most willing to spend their tax dollars to improve medical facilities (46%) and police protection (39%). Identical services are of greatest concern to the rural resident elderly, although rural elderly are less sensitive to the need to improve medical facilities than elderly migrants (38% versus 46%). Considering all community services, including senior citizen services, younger migrants are more supportive of tax increases than older migrants. The more limited endorsement by the elderly to increase taxes for community improvements, doubtless, is related to the lower economic status of the elderly migrants.

We see here, as in Chapter VI, that the elderly are no exception to the widespread receptivity toward continued growth in the nonmetro areas. Relating the data here on tax increases to the community satisfaction data in a previous section, we can conclude that the availability of medical facilities is viewed by elderly migrants as their biggest concern and perhaps their greatest loss in moving from an urban to a rural residence.

#### MOBILITY INTENTIONS OF MIGRANTS

Perceived benefits of the move can be inferred from comparing the mobility intentions of recent immigrants and long-term residents. Data presented earlier indicate that the ties and amenity factors which attracted elderly migrants to nonmetropolitan areas were indeed the aspects of the rural residence with which elderly migrants were most satisfied. Therefore, we would



Table 9.9 Percent Favoring Growth and Development, by Age Group

Growth and development issues	Metro elderly	Metro young	Rural resident elderly
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
Should elected officials try to:			
Keep factories out of area	17	23	14
Attract tourists and promote tourism	90	83	84
Develop the business district of the community	81	86	79
Attract new residents to the area	80	70	74
Taxes should be increased to :			
Improve schools	20	39	26
Build parks	26	36	28
Improve medical facilities	46	49	38
Improve police protection	39	38	41
Improve area roads	32	41	37
Provide services for senior citizens	31	46	32



expect that most elderly migrants would expect to stay in the nonmetropolitan residence.

Indeed, only 10 percent of elderly migrants prefer to live in some other community compared to 17 percent of younger migrants (Table 9.10). However, a smaller percent of the longer-term resident elderly (5%) express a preference to live in another community.

Somewhat surprisingly when we look at mobility expectations, we find that elderly immigrants are slightly less likely than resident elderly to expect to move from the nonmetro area (9% and 10%, respectively) within the next three years. Elderly migrants are considerably less likely than younger migrants to expect to move again soon (9% versus 29%). Thus for most elderly migrants, the move to the nonmetropolitan residence seems to be viewed as a permanent move.

Among the portions of the three samples who expect to move within the next three years, we find that the elderly, especially, would opt for residential preferences more closely aligned with the size and types of places in which they are now located. Of course, caution should be exercised in interpreting the above data since the N's are small.

We can conclude from these data that most metropolitan elderly migrants in the high growth areas of the Midwest are not likely to move again soon. However, the elderly immigrants who do expect to move may be more disgruntled than other potential migrants, since their residential preferences are much different from the open country, nonfarm and farm residences in which most are now located.

#### SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

A significant portion of the metro origin migrants are elderly. When we looked at their characteristics, we saw that the majority of elderly



Table 9.10 Mobility Expectations and Residential Preferences, by Age Group

	Metro elderly	Metro young	Resident elderly
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
1. Prefer to live in some other community	10	17	5
2. Expect to move within next three years	9	27	10
3. Preferred type of residence of those expecting to move:			
Big city < 50,000	42	11	7
Large town 10,000-50,000	25	21	7
Small town > 10,000	17	11	60
Countryside	17	41	26
Farm	0	6	0
Base N	(12)	(90)	(15)



migrants are married couples and most live in single family homes. On two important criteria--occupation and income--the social backgrounds of elderly migrants in the prior residence are comparable to younger migrants' social backgrounds. Elderly migrants, however, are not as well educated as younger migrants. The large majority of elderly migrants are currently retired and their level of living, at least in terms of income, has declined since moving to the nonmetropolitan area. However, elderly migrants are typically more affluent and better educated than the elderly population they are joining in the rural area. The preponderant majority of elderly migrants moved to the more rural nonmetropolitan places of residence and most chose countryside, nonfarm residences.

Retirement and environmental considerations (i.e., the desire to get away from the city and the attraction of rural residence) were the primary motivation among elderly migrants in the decision to leave the city. Social ties in the area, followed by environmental or amenity factors, were given by the majority of elderly migrants as reasons for choosing the destination area, making the elderly no different from the overall sample of metro migrants. Approximately two-thirds of elderly migrants had friends living in the area prior to the move and about as many had vacationed in the area previously. A substantial proportion of elderly migrants also had relatives in the area prior to the move but most were not return migrants.

Findings on community satisfaction suggest that elderly migrants gained in the move relative to the friendliness of their neighbors, outdoor recreational opportunities and lower local tax rates. Elderly migrants experienced losses in the availability of medical facilities, shopping facilities, employment and transportation. However, elderly migrants are more satisfied, overall, with their current than their prior residence. Elderly migrants also



perceived overall gains on other quality of life indicators. They are receptive to the growth and development of their new residence although they express limited commitment to tax increases to improve community services.

The move to the nonmetropolitan area appears to have been efficacious for elderly migrants. The large majority prefer to remain in their current residence and few expect to migrate again within the near future. The implication for the receiving communities is that elderly migration can be viewed as relatively permanent. For the elderly, migration to the nonmetro area seems to mean that many have chosen to live their active retirement years in preferred residence locations and where significant social networks have been established.

The metropolitan elderly migrants in our sample figure predominantly as one basis of the noneconomic source of growth in these areas. The impetus of retirement as well as the desire to leave the urban environment prompted most of the elderly to leave the metropolitan area.



## Chapter X

### RETURN MIGRANTS FROM METROPOLITAN AREAS

James D. Williams

The literature on population turnaround reveals an awareness that return migration is an important part of the phenomenon. Exactly how it is important is less clear, except for its numerical or proportional significance. It is easily linked to the other two factors of concern in this section: motivations and the substantial proportion of older migrants in the flow from metropolitan areas. First, it has been demonstrated in another study of more limited focus that return migrants tend to give social ties, a noneconomic factor, as reasons for moving (Campbell et al, 1977). We will determine whether this is true for the metro origin migrants. If it is, then the rather unusual motivational structure of the stream from metropolitan areas is in part a function of the phenomenon of return migration. Furthermore, there is a rather general belief that older persons who were the rural to urban migrants of a past generation may now be major contributors to the reverse flow, and that their desire to return to a "simpler life" in a well-remembered place is put into effect at retirement. Of course, this is a rather romantic and almost certainly overstated scenario, but never-the-less we will investigate the extent to which return migration from metropolitan areas is associated with the elderly.

The preceding comments suggest ways in which return migration is specifically limited to the turnaround phenomenon. But, other concerns can be gleaned from the more general migration literature. For instance, social ties at a potential destination, or variety of destinations, have for some time been suggested to act as a possible determinant of migration itself, and almost certainly <sup>are</sup> a determinant of the direction and distance of migration. If social or economic ties resulting from a prior residential experience in



the area are important determinants of migration, then, return migrants should tend to express motivations related to social ties, especially as criteria for destination selection, and have more objectively-measured ties than do newcomers. Since ties may help reduce the friction of distance, return migrants possibly may have moved farther on the average than newcomers.

We should also investigate, as best we can given the research design, whether these former rural-to-urban migrants seem to be "urban failures." Or, might the return migrants be people who have experienced an economic squeeze such that migration was necessary to avoid rising costs of metropolitan living? Given a need to migrate, of course, a good alternative is to return to a prior area of residence. This issue will be considered in the course of this chapter.

Over all, the purpose of this chapter is to compare newcomers and return migrants in order to investigate the ways in which return migration contributes to some of the unusual aspects of the flow of immigrants from metropolitan areas to our sample of nonmetropolitan counties.

In spite of their presumed preponderance, we contacted fewer return migrants than might be expected. Campbell et al. (1977), for instance found that nearly half of those immigrating to their Ozarks counties were return migrants. Using a strict definition of return migration, 25 percent of the household heads in our study report having lived in the county of residence at any time prior to the study. Somewhat more, about 32 percent, have lived in "the area" but not in the county. We have chosen to rely on the definition of return migration which employs a rigid territorial basis rather than to rely on the idea of having lived in "the area." This avoids



the problem of differential spatial perception and provides at least a minimum of comparability with other sources since most researchers use a county based definition.

From a question asking when they last moved away from the county, we learn that, generally, these return migrants are not returning after a protracted period away from the area. Indeed, about 18 percent moved away no more than two years prior to their recent immigration. Another 18 percent were away for from three to five years, and about 15 percent were away from six to 10 years. Thus, slightly more than half of the return migrants are returning after only 10 or less years absence. This is hardly what we would expect given media conceptions of older people returning to their long-lost childhood homes. It is, however, the case that older persons tend to have longer durations away than younger persons. But, even among those heads of household who are 55 years of age or older, about 25 percent are return migrating within only 10 years of previously residing in their current county of residence.

#### BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

A consideration of the age structures of the newcomers and return migrants is of paramount importance as a backdrop to the subsequent sections. Our interest is in documenting the extent to which return migrants are older persons, nearing or past retirement, and thus seem to fit one stereotype of urban to rural migrants. We have chosen also to display information on household composition and might anticipate that return migrants may tend, especially if elderly, to be in single person households, or have moved in with relatives or friends. Relevant data are presented in Table 1 below.



Table 10.1 Background Characteristics by Migrant Type

<u>Age of Head</u>	<u>Return Migrants</u>	<u>Newcomers</u>
	-----Percent-----	-----
35 or younger	38	29
36-54 years	25	30
55 and older	37	41
Base N	120	365
<u>Household Composition</u>		
Respondent only	21	10
Respondent and spouse only	28	35
Respondent, spouse and children only	40	46
Other arrangements	11	9
Base N	122	370

The data show that return migration and age are not linked in the expected way. Return migrants show the greater proportion of younger household heads. That is, there are proportionately more older persons among newcomers than among return migrants. So, we simply cannot characterize return migration to these areas as a retirement-related phenomenon. If we calculate percentages in the direction of age, we document that return migration is most likely among the young, not the old. Either way it seems that the linkage between the turnaround phenomenon, return migration, and the elderly is tenuous.

One implication of the differing age structures of the two groups is suggested by the data on household composition. Return migrant households are more likely to comprise a single individual than are newcomer households. Data not displayed here reveal that proportionately more return migrants are divorced (9 percent) than are newcomers (3 percent) which may help explain the higher proportion of return migrants in single person households. That we find no preponderance of return migrants



living with other relatives or unrelated individuals may well be a function of the sampling design which would tend to miss migrant individuals moving into households occupied by long-term residents. The immigrant would tend not to be interviewed if living in a household where some other person maintains the telephone listing. As to the total inflow, it is certain that newcomers are contributing relatively more to total local population growth since they tend to be living, and have moved with, spouses and one or more children.

#### ORIGINS AND DESTINATIONS

As seems reasonable, return migrants have considered fewer alternative destinations as indicated by responses to a question asking if the respondent considered moving to any other places. Among return migrants, about 20 percent considered other alternatives while 31 percent of newcomers report having considered alternative destinations. This difference, however, is somewhat misleading. Of those newcomers who did consider other places, most also report that those other communities or areas were in the same county, whereas return migrants tend to have considered alternatives in other counties, and, in fact, for many, another state. Overall, these results imply a considerable directedness of the move for both groups, return and nonreturn alike. We will later learn why this is the case.

As a rough guide to distance moved, Table 10.2 displays locational information about the origins of the two groups. Return migrants have come from

Table 10.2 Origin Location by Migrant Type

Origin	Return Migrants	Newcomers
	-----Percent-----	
Within state	57	63
Outside state, within region	17	24
Outside region	26	13
Base N	122	370



outside the region in higher proportions than have newcomers though more than half of both types moved within state. There is, then, some evidence to suggest that return migrants, perhaps because of the friction reducing effects of prior residential experience, have moved farther on the average than have the newcomers.

Data not reported show that both types of migrants come in about equal proportions from the various size categories of metropolitan places. In contrast, the types of areas the two groups move to are quite different as shown in Table 10.3.

Table 10.3 Destination Residence by Migrant Type

Current Residence	Return Migrants	Newcomers
	-----Percent-----	-----
Inside city limits	51	28
rural-nonfarm	30	53
Rural-farm	19	19
Base N	115	357

Clearly, return migrants tend to end up living within the more urbanized territory of the target counties in contrast to the newcomers who tend to live outside incorporated areas. Perhaps return migrants have greater access to information on housing within towns as a result of a more extensive network of friends and relatives who might help find housing for the return migrant. Or, perhaps newcomers are forced to take what is left, meaning less centrally located housing. This difference might also reflect different needs and tastes related to the different age structures of the two groups. Our information on housing and tenure suggest that return migrants tend somewhat more than newcomers to live in apartments and mobile homes. Whatever the reasons, it seems certain that return migrants tend to disproportionately affect urban growth versus growth



in the countryside. Combined with our knowledge of group differences in household composition, total migrational growth in these counties seems certain to be primarily a function of newcomers who tend to be moving with families and who also tend to locate in open country settings. On the basis of these data, then, we should expect the 1980 census to register important rural open country growth which, by and large, will not be a function of return migration.

#### TIES TO THE DESTINATION AREA

We presume that return migrants, by virtue of their prior residence, have more extensive social and economic ties to their destinations prior to moving than would the newcomers. Indeed, ties are suggested to be an important factor for the migration decision-making process. Table 10.4 presents group differences on indicators of social and economic ties. The first indicator is a broad social tie dimension and is based upon responses to a question asking if the respondent knew anyone in the destination county prior to moving there. The second and third indicators are based upon questions asking the respondent if s/he owned housing or other land in the area prior to moving. The results are, at first glance, surprising.

Table 10.4 Ties to the Area of Destination by Migrant Type

	Return Migrants	Newcomers
	-----Percent-----	
Knew someone in the area	98	70
Owned housing prior to moving	22	25
Owned other land prior to moving	19	16

We noted earlier (Chapter III) that the metropolitan inflow is characterized by high levels of familiarity with the destination area prior to



inmigration. Here, while we find the expected difference in the social dimension, we again see that the vast majority of both types of migrants knew someone in the area prior to migrating. Virtually all return migrants had prior acquaintances in the area of destination; but, 70 percent of newcomers also knew someone in the area prior to moving. For return migrants, the contacts tend to be family while newcomers tend to report friends in the area.

As to the more economic forms of prior contact, we find that return migrants have no advantage over newcomers. Both groups are about equally likely to have owned a house or other land in the area prior to moving there.

We also find (data not displayed) that newcomers in many cases have vacationed in the area of destination. Sly (1974) has documented <sup>the</sup> / role of prior vacation contact as an information source for retirement migrants to Florida. It would appear, then, that vacation contact with an area, perhaps involving years of repeated visits, yields the extensive network of social ties which is usually a characteristic of return migrants. In other words, in amenity areas, the concept of return migrant as demographically defined is of less utility to researchers since vacation and other recreational contact tends to yield similar contacts as prior permanent residence. On a related point, DaVanzo and Morrison (1978) find evidence to suggest that when moving again, people do tend to return migrate as a function of ties to a prior residence. Given our findings, and those of Sly, and DaVanzo and Morrison, we may in coming years see a greater predictive capability of vacation and recreational use of an area as a predictor of later immigration.



So, in summary, we cannot assume a great difference in familiarity with the areas of destination between newcomers and return migrants. Indeed, "newcomers" is perhaps a poor term in light of our data, for we suspect that amenity areas are unusual in attracting permanent residents who, over all, have had considerable contact with the area prior to a change of permanent residence.

#### MIGRATION MOTIVATIONS

In spite of the objective reality that the majority of newcomers and returnees have had earlier contact with their areas of destination, we may still expect differences in the motivational bases for both reasons for leaving the origin area and for criteria for destination selection. We should anticipate a greater likelihood of ties being mentioned for return migrants as we investigate respondents' subjective evaluation for why they moved and why they chose their destination communities. In spite of extensive contacts for both groups, ties should tend to be more salient as migration criteria for returnees. Newcomers, whose prior contact tends to be oriented to recreational use of the area, would be expected to tend to respond that they moved because of environmental considerations. Relevant data are presented in Table 10.5.

Table 10.5 Migration Motivation by Migration Type

Motivation	Return Migrants		Newcomers	
	Leaving	Choosing destination	Leaving	Choosing destination
	-----Percent-----			
Employment related	24	15	25	23
Ties to destination	16	68	4	38
Environmental push	24	1	27	2
Environmental pull	11	12	15	34
Retirement	10	2	20	1
Other	15	2	9	2
Base N	122	122	369	369



As anticipated, ties are mentioned more frequently among return migrants as the basis for both the initial decision to leave the area of origin and as a criterion for selecting a destination. But, notice that the proportion responding "ties" is much higher for destination selection than for the initial decision to leave the area of origin. For the vast majority even of return migrants, the desire to live closer to friends or relatives, prior residence and familiarity with the area, or property ownership do not serve as the initial impetus to move. Our data strongly suggest that social ties are not such an important subjective determinant of migration as might be anticipated. But, it is quite clear that ties to the area are an important factor determining the choice of destination and so the direction of migration. A majority of return migrants (68 percent) gave a social tie-related response when asked why they chose "this" place instead of some other. But, notice here, too, that newcomers are choosing destinations on the basis of ties to an important, though lesser, extent than returnees. Data on detailed responses (not displayed) show that among those reporting ties as a criterion for destination selection, return migrants tend to suggest prior residence and a desire to be closer to friends and relatives while newcomers cite general familiarity with the area and property ownership as specific ties.

#### SES CHANGES ATTENDING MIGRATION

One fairly common theme in research on past rural to urban migration has been that return migration has tended to be selective of those who "couldn't make it" in the urban economy. In the past, of course, these urban to rural migrants were counterstream migrants. Now, however, it appears that urban to rural migration is the dominant stream affecting



metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas (in the aggregate) and return migration is simply a part of a much larger phenomenon. More generally, DaVano and Morrison (1978) have suggested that return migration may be a corrective act when a migrant miscalculates the benefits of an initial move and relatively quickly returns to the origin location. Given that we have some relevant data, it seems worthwhile to investigate whether return migrants and newcomers have experienced different household economic changes as a result of migration, and whether there is any evidence whatsoever that returnees may have been compelled to migrate because of competitive disadvantages in the metropolitan environment. Caution is necessary, though, because we cannot determine how our return migrants compare with nonmovers, or others in the metro origins who moved but did not return to our target areas. migrate/ Thus, this section is rather speculative. As a point of departure, Table 10.6 presents employment status just before moving, and at the time of the survey (1977) for household heads.

Table 10.6 Employment Status by Migrant Type (Heads of Households)

	<u>Return Migrants</u>		<u>Newcomers</u>	
	<u>Before move</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>Before move</u>	<u>1977</u>
	-----Percent-----			
Employed				
full time	65	57	67	55
part time	6	6	3	5
Temporarily un- employed	6	3	4	2
Retired	13	28	18	35
Not employed, not looking for work	10	6	6	3
Base N	122	122	370	370

The effects of the age differences between the two types of migrants are apparent at the outset. Newcomers, who are older, tend to have a



somewhat larger proportion retired than do return migrants. But, both groups show significant increases in the proportion retired between the time of the move and the time of the survey. As a gross indication, it would appear that unemployment was not a particularly important underlying motivation for either group and we can conclude that if return migrants are "urban failures," they must be so in more subtle ways than simply being unemployed. Employment data for spouses are not presented but suggest an important difference for those in the two groups who are married. Among married return migrants, about 47 percent of the spouses were employed full or part time before the move and the figure falls to about 42 percent in 1977. In contrast, about 39 percent of newcomers' spouses were employed before the move, falling to about 23 percent in 1977. So, married female labor force participation tends to be more common among return migrants. It may be the case that these employed wives are making up for occupation-related income differences between return and nonreturn migrants. We will shortly investigate occupational prestige differences but first examine data on the income distribution of newcomers and return migrants. The relevant income distributions are presented in Table 10.7.

Table 10.7 Household Income by Migrant Type

Income (\$'s)	<u>Return Migrants</u>		<u>Newcomers</u>	
	Before move	1976	Before move	1976
Percent				
5000 or less	18	26	13	20
5001 to 10,000	29	29	23	27
10,000 to 15,000	38	22	29	24
15,001 to 20,000	10	15	19	13
more than 20,000	5	8	16	16
Base N	111	116	320	330



Even with higher female labor force participation rates among spouses, and a higher overall proportion in the labor force in both time periods, return migrants have slightly lower total household incomes than newcomers. Thus, there is at least indirect evidence to suggest that many of the employed return migrants are in rather poor paying jobs and were also in poorly paid jobs in their origins. Occupational change data (not displayed) show that the two groups are very similar in the prestige changes accompanying the migration, though, and it would appear that return migrants have not made moves which provide more income, prestige, etc. Most of the income change in Table 10.7, then, is probably a result of the retirement factor. There are also no major differences between return migrants and newcomers on proportions employed in white collar occupations either before or after moving. It seems, then, that we cannot find the reason for the income differences between returnees and newcomers. Fortunately that difference is small and overall we find little to support a view of returnees as "urban failures."

There may yet be another factor related to the return migration phenomenon which may shed light on the economic aspects of the move. Return migrants may be consciously moving to less expensive areas in order to reduce their costs of living and thus make their limited incomes go farther. This hypothesis receives some support from answers to a question asking respondents where they think it costs more to live, in the new residence or in the old metropolitan location. Among return migrants, 51 percent said it cost more to live in the metropolitan area, while among newcomers, 40 percent said it cost more to live in the old area of residence. While we cannot be sure, given our research design, there is at least some evidence to suggest that return migrants may have consciously done so in order to reduce their costs of living.



## SELECTED ISSUES

Group differences on a variety of indicators could be investigated and we have covered some of the most important structural measures. In this last section, we will examine group differences on the more social-psychological measures, and particularly the migrants' responses to questions about taxation and development strategies.

We found that, on the average, return migrants tend more than newcomers to favor tax increases for virtually all of the purposes we inquired about: aid to senior citizens, roads, police protection, improved medical facilities, parks and playgrounds, and schools. This seems to reflect the age difference between the groups, as it will be remembered that we found that young persons are more likely than older persons to favor tax increases (chapter 6).

We also found evidence to suggest that neither newcomers nor return migrants are a relatively greater source of conservatism in regard to local development strategies. No differences were found between return and nonreturn migrants in the proportion wanting to keep out new factories, not wanting to attract new residents or not wanting to promote tourism. Return migrants do, however, tend to behave in their own self interest as they show a somewhat higher proportion wanting to develop the local business district, and it will be remembered that they tend to move into the city limits of villages and towns.

On a great variety of other attitudinal items, what differences were found between the groups could usually be traced to other factors, especially age. For instance, return migrants over all are slightly more likely to expect to move in the next few years. But this is probably a function of their younger average age.



## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In summary, return migrants are not all that different from newcomers in many important dimensions. The most striking, and certainly not surprising, difference between newcomers and returnees, is that when it comes to destination selection, friends and family and prior residence are particularly salient in returning respondents' motivations. The most striking similarity between the two types of migrants is that a majority of newcomers as well as return migrants had some source for information prior to immigrating. Thus, returnees tend to be more likely to express that ties were important to the migration but both types possessed ties to an important degree. Perhaps, the ties of those who have lived in the area before are of higher "quality." Regardless, this is an important topic for future research.



## Chapter XI

### THE NEW MIGRATION: ORIGINS, IMPACTS, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

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and

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Initial reactions to the evidence for a reversal of historic migration patterns reflected skepticism. Was the reversal really a new trend or only a temporary departure from a still dominant rural to urban flow? If there was a new trend, did it stem from emergence of a new cultural predisposition or were the explanations of migratory behavior invoked in the past still largely valid? Was the reversal even a true reversal, or simply an artifact of the way political boundaries are drawn or of the conventions used in tabulating demographic data? Various analyses, usually of secondary data, have firmly established both the existence and persistence of the initial trend which Beale (1975) identified, and various attempts to explain away the phenomenon have led to the conclusion that it is real, continuing, and not a statistical artifact.

Once the trend was confirmed as real, a host of secondary concerns gained prominence. Who are the migrants; why are they moving at all, and why at this particular time; what impact are they having or going to have; are they going to stay; and, most importantly, will the trend continue and, if so, what factors are going to moderate it or speed it up? Answers to a few of the listed questions emerged out of examinations of data on counties and other political units that were gaining or losing population, and from looking at the characteristics of migrants as reported by the Bureau of the Census. Most of the questions, however, could not be addressed by analyzing county data on aggregates of people and resources. A spate of



location-specific surveys of recent migrants followed, and these have in many ways supported the inferences made from secondary data about the detailed characteristics of migrants in the new stream and their reasons for leaving urban areas. The location-specific surveys could only provide snapshots of particular situations, however. There was clearly a need for primary survey data which looked at the trend broadly, and which was in fact designed to answer many of the questions being raised about the nature of the trend as well as its potential impact.

The data on which the present document is based have been invaluable in addressing many of the issues associated with the new migration, issues which could not have been pursued much further with secondary data or small surveys. We have established, and for a region of the nation, why recent migrants from metropolitan areas moved, why they have relocated in particular destinations, and even more importantly, we have demonstrated that their reasons for these two basic migration decisions are somewhat unique. We have also established who the migrants are and how they differ from residents of the areas. We now know the types of places they are coming from and in what types of places they are settling. We have discussed their adjustment problems and expectations for moving or remaining in their present residences, and we have looked at some of the consequences of the move on the migrant households themselves and for rural areas.

In the present chapter we attempt to highlight some of the main findings from the survey and to go beyond the data with some speculations about the years ahead. We attempt to integrate our findings with some of the prevailing ideas about underlying causal factors contributing to the new migration. At the same time we point out some of the considerations which necessarily have to be addressed in discussions regarding the continuation



of the trend and longer-run consequences. Levy (1966) pointed out several years ago that the prerequisites for a trend-change are not necessarily identical with the requisites for its continuation. Some contributing factors may continue to have an impact, others may not, and the presumed contributing factors themselves may well change over time. In any case, we try, in each of the following sections, to raise some questions about the future and we try to match those future-oriented questions with some suggestions for needed research.

The new migration is already distinctive with respect to the number of research efforts which have been mounted to monitor and understand the trend, perhaps surpassed only by the long-standing efforts to monitor economic trends. Population movements are of such fundamental importance to a host of societal issues, however, that even more and more sharply focused studies must be launched to permit rational planning for the future. Thus, as was stated above, each of the following sections attempts to highlight what we know about the new migration now, to raise some questions about migration to rural areas in the years ahead, and to point up some of the gaps in existing knowledge. We do this in full knowledge that even speculation about the future, to say nothing of prediction, is fraught with problems. Statements based on hindsight are certainly safer, but may also be irrelevant to the plans for tomorrow which, of course, must be made today.

#### The Quest for Amenities

Many questions at the core of the turnaround phenomenon have been centered on the reasons for metro migrants' leaving large urban areas for rural residences, and on whether at the present time they represent a unique phenomenon. We have carefully documented the importance of quality of life



concerns in the decisions of the metro migrants who are moving into the fast-growing rural areas of the region. We have shown in various ways that their motivations are based largely on considerations other than employment, and in that respect their reason structure is quite different from that of past migrants and from another current migration stream--nonmetro to non-metro movers--which we have surveyed. The concerns of nonmetro origin migrants are much more with employment opportunities, many of which we and others suggest are being generated by the influx of metro origin migrants. We have also found that metro migrants' specific location choices were heavily influenced by considerations other than employment, and particularly by ties migrants had in the areas in which they relocated plus a host of rural amenities. Quite simply, metro migrants are going to places where they either had lived, had friends and relatives, had vacationed or owned property, or which embodied the types of amenities they were seeking. And for most of the metro migrants these destinations turned out to be in and around small towns and villages, often in open country areas. Thus, in most relevant ways we have been able with survey data to establish that the new migration is truly a drift from large urban centers to more rural places and areas, and it is being generated to a substantial extent by various environmental or quality-of-life concerns on the part of migrants.

The data on motivations are explicit in pointing out the importance of place amenities in migrants' decisions, but this still does not explain all of the recent reversal. A sizeable portion of the metro migrants has moved for employment reasons, and most of those of working age who moved for reasons other than employment experienced no lasting disruption in their work lives, no sharp income declines, and no consequential downward occupational mobility. It appears, then, that even for the amenity migrants,



employment opportunities, while perhaps not the stated cause for the move, are probably still important. If nothing else, the availability of jobs may have lowered the barriers to mobility among many metro migrants. It is as Beale (1976) suggests, probably a matter of economics and attitudes. We might add only that on the basis of our data it is probably more a matter of attitudes than economics, and this is what the new migration is reputed to be.

#### Amenity Seeking: Impacts and Prospects

The metro migrants' pronounced quality-of-life orientation and their preference for locating in the more rural places in their destinations, lead to the inevitable question of whether they are also likely to exhibit a perspective opposed to future population growth and/or economic development of their destination areas. Fears that they currently are opposed to development are allayed by the present data which show that there is a widespread consensus among metro migrants in favor of further growth and development, and a general agreement over the means for promoting development. So far, at least, there has been a positive outlook toward the population growth which has taken place in their areas, and they articulate a pro-development stance with regard to the future. Their orientations on the growth issues and economic development alternatives are fairly close to those of long-term residents of the same areas as well.

These data should not be interpreted as a disconfirmation of what others have found in specific case studies, where newcomers were shown to be protective of their seclusions, their location and physical environment, and where they have been shown to have a strong desire to control changes that might occur in the rural community (Graber, 1974:512). Our data can say



very little about the impact of migrants in any particular locality or on a particular public issue. In some localities which have been experiencing considerable growth for some time, the problems generated by the new migration may be real. Nor should our data be interpreted to imply that future metro migrants, or long-term residents, will be as receptive to growth and development of their areas in the years ahead as is the case now. Migrants' and residents' perspectives may change dramatically after some of the unused capacity of rural areas is exhausted. More broadly stated, the attractiveness of a given location may deteriorate, both in an absolute sense or in comparison with some other place, as time passes and population growth continues (Shaw, 1975; 109).

To the extent that a quest for amenities can be viewed as an underlying causal factor in the new migration, a highly important research need involves the more detailed specification of what "amenities" mean to potential migrants and a monitoring of the migration process over time to determine where and to what extent the quest for amenities is satisfied. There are two types of issues involved in the above, broad statement of research needs. First, we do not now know whether currently valued amenities can continue to be found in a given place as the migratory process continues. It is plausible to assume that rural areas which have lost population for decades have "unused capacity," but we lack the data to back up that assumption. Further, assuming an area's potential for easily absorbing population growth, we lack data on the magnitude of any such potential. Our analysis documented a preference for open country living among metropolitan origin migrants, plus a positive attitude toward further population growth and development. At what point does pressure on a local service network become problematic?



We lack such data and it would seem prudent to monitor the migratory process to improve our knowledge base.

A second issue, implied in the above discussion, involves the question of specifying "place amenities" over time from the potential migrant's perspective. To illustrate, can one assume that "the good life" as envisioned by a family newly formed in, say, 1980, will be the same or even similar to that which is current being realized by a family formed in 1965? We simply don't know, and the implications of that type of question for the future of the trend are quite substantial.

Another, major research need under the heading of "amenity seeking" is the precise relationship between the quest for amenities and employment. It seems plausible, again, to assume that an influx of amenity seeking migrants stimulates economic activity, creates jobs, in other words, which serve to attract additional migrants. We have suggested that our nonmetro origin migrants, who tended to give job reasons for moving, were attracted by the economic stimulus of an influx of amenity seeking metropolitan migrants. We cannot establish that as fact with the data at hand. Establishing the connection should be given a high priority for future research because such knowledge could go a long way toward predicting the amount and nature of future population growth in areas such as those we have studied.

#### FLIGHT FROM THE CITY

If the quest for amenities can be treated as an underlying "pull" factor in the new migration, then a related "push" factor can be characterized as "flight from the city." These are not necessarily opposite sides of the same coin. In the absence, however, of more rigorous definitions of rural amenities (or the "problems of urban life") there is a tendency



to characterize urban push and rural pull factors as polar opposites. Some of the overtones of that kind of characterization have come out in the analytic distinctions we found we were forced to make between reasons for leaving a place and reasons for choosing a destination. The reasons given by our respondents did not, in fact, fit neatly into polar opposite types of categories.

In any case, problems of defining precise meanings aside, few of the hypotheses invoked to explain the new migration have received as much attention as those based on the presumed reaction of migrants to the problems associated with urban life. In fact, it is argued that continuation of the trend may lie as much in the increased dissatisfaction with urban areas as in the increased attractiveness of rural areas (Beale, 1976). We have been able in our research to portion out environmental influences into urban push and rural pull, and have found the former to be much more important as stimuli in the decision to leave urban areas. We would have to conclude that perhaps a major clue as to the origin, as well as the continuation, of the trend lies with conditions in large urban areas, particularly those conditions contributing to the decreased attractiveness of large urban areas. As long as urban dissatisfaction exists, or if it increases, a huge pool of potential migrants will exist. Still, as we suggested above, the precise causal role of particular urban "push" factors has not yet been specified. Apparently, urban dissatisfaction is not a newly discovered fact of urban living (Fischer, 1975). Yet, at this particular time dissatisfaction is being translated into rural moves by large numbers of households, suggesting that perhaps more than simply urban dissatisfaction may be involved in the trend. Whatever the reason, the perceived problems of urban



areas are not likely to abate soon, and unfavorable media coverage of city problems and favorable coverage of rural life will provide underlying support for future moves to more rural residences (Roseman, 1977).

#### Urban Flight: Consequences and Research Needs

The population reversal has raised countless impact questions, but to date all of the research has focused on the consequences of the trend on rural areas. Yet, the trend will undoubtedly have an impact on places of origin as well as on those remaining in urban areas. It should not be concluded prematurely, however, that some depopulation of urban areas will have only negative consequences, if there are any consequences at all. It is anticipated that if the trend continues, it will ultimately affect urban wages as well as the costs of services for those left behind (Chalmers and Greenwood, 1977). However, in much the same way that the fast growing rural areas are being viewed from the perspective of "ruination versus renaissance," urban places too may benefit, especially if the trend precipitates many of the reforms recommended for the revival of metro areas. Reducing the population of urban areas may ease some of the stress now placed on urban service systems and stimulate efforts to redevelop some areas. Some have pointed out that the new migrations may provide a "new chance for the cities" (Nadler, 1975).

The urban to rural shift should not be viewed independently of the suburban shift, furthermore. It is not likely that the flight of urban residents to rural areas is having a greater effect on urban places than the suburbanization trend has had or will have in the future. At the present time little is known about the relative impacts on urban areas of these two decentralization trends, or of how the two trends are related.



Very little is actually known about the aspects of the urban environment with which migrants are presumed to be dissatisfied. Our examination of migrants' retrospective assessments of their dissatisfaction has failed to turn up any widespread and common dislikes among the metro migrants for the places they left. In fact, considered alone, the satisfaction-dissatisfaction data suggest that the new migration may be less a function of the diminished attractiveness of urban areas than is widely assumed. We have seen that many migrants were indeed dissatisfied, and especially those moving for what we have identified as environmental push reasons, but this amounts to no more than a fourth of the migrants. We would have to conclude, on the basis of this evidence, that the new migration is being fueled by more than a general dissatisfaction with urban life.

Many questions are being raised about the role of city push factors in the residential search process and in actual migration itself. Speare (1974) suggests that dissatisfaction is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for moving, as we have reasoned earlier. There is an even more fundamental question, however, regarding the measurement of community satisfaction. Rather than general urban dissatisfaction, what may be more important from a potential migrant's perspective is the growing dissatisfaction generated by changes in particular neighborhoods, changes in the amenities offered in a specific residential location, and perhaps even changes in the standards used to evaluate urban place amenities. All of this is simply to suggest that much more than general urban dissatisfaction may be involved in migrants' decisions. It may also argue that broadsided attempts to improve urban areas may do little to stem the outflow to rural or suburban areas, especially if migrants are not responding to urban conditions in general.



To highlight some of the research needs mentioned above, it may be useful to repeat that it might be as important to understand precisely the effects of the new migration on urban places of origin as it is to understand how rural areas are being altered. It is known, for example, that many center city portions of older industrial metro areas are changing demographically, becoming more black, older, and less populated. Those moving out are generally younger, white, and of higher socioeconomic status. But a disproportionate number of migrants out of center cities are simply moving further out into adjoining suburbs and nearby towns within commuting distance of cities. Thus, one should not infer that changes which center city areas are undergoing are the result of urban to rural migration, although some unknown portion of the impact is. One of the more pressing research needs is for an examination of how urban places are being affected by these parallel trends, and for determining how the shift to rural residences differs from the suburbanization trend. How, for example, do metro to nonmetro migrants differ from migrants simply moving to "the suburbs"? What factors might tilt the balance more toward migration to rural areas than to suburban locations? White's (1978) recent research on the trend toward "no-growth zoning" in suburbs suggests that, if widespread, it may restrict movement into some of the more preferred suburban residential locations. What effects will this or other policy possibilities have in attracting the flow of voluntary migrants to preferred types of destinations? (cf. Morrison, 1970; Dillman and Dobash, 1972).

Along similar lines, several suggestions have been made regarding the possible linkage between the energy issue and migration. Although the tone of much of the writing is that energy shortages and higher energy costs



will place urban centers in a better competitive situation vis a vis rural areas, there is no compelling reason for arguing at the present time that an "energy problem" should result in less migration to rural places. Higher commuting and travel costs in urban areas are also to be expected and may be viewed by potential migrants as one more disadvantage of urban life. In addition, many of the amenities formerly associated with urban living may come to be viewed as costly and relatively inaccessible. Rural areas, in contrast, may be viewed more positively by potential migrants in terms of alternative sources of energy: sunlight, wood, and coal. It has been argued that higher energy costs and particularly higher prices for gasoline, are likely to discourage travel and thus rural living, which has been shown to involve traveling greater distances for employment, shopping, services, recreation, and so on. But whether individuals' migration decisions are any more responsive to gasoline prices than their current driving habits seem to be is questionable.

We have raised many questions about how urban dissatisfaction relates to eventual outmigration. Considerably more research is needed before we can begin to attribute the new migration to urban decay or argue that urban revitalization will slow outmigration. Apparently the preference for a smaller scale living environment and antipathy toward large urban areas are deeply rooted among urban dwellers. But relatively few of those at risk leave cities for rural areas, suggesting either that many are willing to live with their dissatisfaction or that dissatisfaction may be no more than an acceptable response to researchers' queries regarding city life. To what extent are either of these hypotheses true? How long must dissatisfaction exist, and at what level of intensity, before it precipitates a residential



search? And what differentiates a rural search from a suburban search? We know very little about these processes.

Finally, nothing is known of how the changing composition of the city will ultimately affect the new migration, insofar as the populations at risk are changing. Little urban-rural migration has been documented among Blacks, except for return migration to the South, and migration rates are especially low among the elderly. But with improved socioeconomic status among Blacks, will they become a part of the trend in the Midwest, for example, or will their increased presence and numerical dominance in urban centers slow the trend down? What effect will the presence of the elderly in urban areas have on the trend? What changes in rural areas will make them more attractive to both older and Black migrants? These and many other questions must be explored if the new migration is to be understood and planned for in both places of origin and destination.

#### SOCIETAL AFFLUENCE AND THE NEW MIGRATION

The relative affluence of the American public over the past decades has been singled out as one of the underlying structural supports behind the current reversal, and it has been argued that as affluence increases, a new emphasis on quality of life as opposed to basic economic considerations seems to assume greater importance (Goldstein, 1976) in peoples' decisions. The decisions to leave metro areas are apparently examples of the renewed emphasis on quality of life factors.

The first suggestions that affluence might be a precipitating influence for the new trend were based on observations that the reversal was centered in destination areas presumed to be scenically attractive, sparsely populated, and predominantly rural, in other words areas in which there were



no apparent employment or economic advantages to moving. This image was reinforced by accounts of highly successful urbanites taking up residence in remote rural areas, changing life styles, and espousing new values. The general tone of much of this writing was that the higher incomes and wealth among the American public both effected a change in the preference structure of a large number of urban dwellers and provided the economic security which made it possible for them to move to a more rural destination. Unlike the pattern in the past, now they were giving equal or greater importance to considerations other than employment in determining what was for them a desirable place in which to live.

General affluence has been one of the "givens" in the new migration, accepted as one of the critical prerequisites and requisites of the trend. Financial freedom, it is argued, permits people to act out their preferences. Earlier retirement, wider coverage by retirement benefits, higher pensions, and public assistance have all contributed to a "free-floating" population with considerably more freedom in locating where it chooses (Morrison and Wheeler, 1976). Little thought has been given to determining whether overall affluence is actually influencing the trend, and, second, if it is, in what specific ways?

It is a fact that from our data it is not at all clear what role general affluence may have played in the new migration. In fact, given the comparisons of our sample of metro migrants and residents, versus the comparisons of the nonmetro migrants and residents, one could as easily argue, as other have, that the trend may be more a necessity-based than an affluence-based migration. If this is the case, it does raise many questions, both about the continuation of the trend and the economic burden it may represent for rural areas.



Affluence and Migration: Implications for the Future and Research Needs

If affluence is indeed one of the underlying "causes" of the new migration, the current high rate of inflation may well be one of the unknown factors which figure prominently in its continuation or demise. There is very little hard evidence that inflation or the resulting lower level of living will become an important factor, and few clues as to how the current trend would be altered, if it did. There is much more current evidence that inflation may be with us for some time. It is conceivable that quality of life concerns will diminish in importance in a period of economic adversity, especially if that adversity is more than a brief episode. Employment, wherever it is found, may assume greater importance in decisions of potential metro migrants than we saw in our data. A host of place utility considerations such as those associated with environmental quality and the recreational features of a destination may become lower-level concerns. This is not to argue that economic adversity will act only as a barrier to future mobility, although it might. It is simply to suggest that there may be considerably less labor mobility than at present, and what there is may place more importance on employment and wages than on amenities. In some ways our nonmetro migrant sample reflects this orientation.

To the extent that employment considerations become more important in future migration decisions, and even with respect to the current situation, it is not now known whether economic opportunities in rural areas will increase fast enough to sustain large influxes of population over time (Stanford Research Institute, 1975). If, on the other hand, other than rural job factors are generating a freedom of movement, we should establish precisely



what these factors are and in what specific ways they operate in migrants' decision making. Furthermore, there should be some attempt to determine to what extent freedom of movement is balanced off by freedom of choice in selecting destinations. To get a better understanding of why people are leaving urban areas for rural locations, much more attention will have to be given to how migration decisions are reached: the situational factors precipitating the move, with particular attention to change-in-status factors; options which migrants have considered; their perceptions of what rural areas are like; their reasons for choosing one rural destination over another and for selecting a rural location over a different urban residence; and the constraints which affect relocation decisions (Quigley and Weinberg, 1977).

Inflation and higher costs of living have the potential for altering residential mobility in more subtle ways as well as directly, via jobs. We have seen, for example, that for many of the migrants the migration decision was heavily influenced by familiarity with and ties they had in the areas where they located. These ties, in some cases, consisted of owning property and second homes, many of them probably purchased for retirement and vacation reasons (research is needed to clarify this point). We found, in addition, that a sizeable number of the migrants had vacationed in the areas to which they eventually moved. The important questions now are how important ties were to the location decision, and what would happen should many of these types of ties become less likely to be developed in some future period. In the event that inflation becomes an even more serious problem, it may well have the effect of discouraging many pre-retirement and second-home or vacation investments in rural areas, and perhaps in the



long run reduce these types of ties between urban residents and rural areas. The point here is that if the affluence of recent decades is regarded as one of the major stimuli for the trend in the 1970s, it is entirely conceivable that the unusually high rate of inflation--and the resulting reduced level of living--now going on have been covertly eroding the continuation of the trend through the decade of the 1980s.

There are, of course, forces working in the opposite direction which could promote more urban to rural migration in a period of adversity. For years urban residents have entertained the notion that the cost of living was lower in rural than in urban areas, and perhaps potential migrants will act on the basis of these perceptions. In our data, however, recent migrants don't feel that rural areas are that different from the places from which they came. Taxes are felt to be lower, although the cost-of-living is not necessarily perceived as being lower, but it is the pre-move perception which may be crucial in any case. Moreover, employment expansion in non-metro areas may continue at a higher rate than in urban areas (Hansen, 1975) and thus continue to attract a number of migrants from urban locations. Thus, the lure of cheaper living and employment may continue to operate among many potential urban migrants. This is clearly a situation that calls for monitoring of the migration process over time, plus some more basic research on the relationship between the new migration and the general state of the economy.

Finally, there is the question of whether, and to what extent, the new migration may be characterized by "distress" movers rather than by affluence. This question is closely tied to the issue of whether the population reversal is likely to represent an economic burden for rural areas. The media have routinely focused on the middle class, elitist, and renaissance aspects



of the trend, while community and local government officials express concern that a large portion of the immigrant stream consists of persons and households who are moving to rural areas out of necessity and who might become an economic liability in their new locations. In this latter context migrants are often portrayed as being older, lower income, unemployed or underemployed, in marginal occupations, or in single-parent households. The implication of this perspective is that rural areas are serving as a haven for the least successful urban residents, and that the stream represents a type of "necessity" migration.

We have no data on urban residents in those cities from which our sample migrants came, and thus have no basis for arguing that the metro migrants are or are not different from comparable metro residents. We have suggested earlier that occupationally and economically our metro migrants were probably lower income, on average, than urban residents as a whole. However, another way of looking at the data is in terms of how immigrants differ from rural residents on various dependence measures. We find, in this context, that the metro migrants may be of lower socioeconomic levels compared, broadly, to urban residents, but they are higher than our sample of rural residents. In addition, we have pointed out earlier in the text, with regard to the other presumed liabilities of the immigrants, that either there were misconceptions about the immigrants or they were no different from the residents. Using the resident group as a base for comparison, we have pointed out that the migrants do not turn up as unemployed, employed disproportionately in lower blue-collar occupations, or as living in single-parent households. Thus, we have little basis for concluding that the migrants are going to represent an additional economic burden. Explicit comparisons between



migrants and the metropolitan population which does not migrate should receive a high priority in future research, however.

#### THE GRAYING OF AMERICA

Roseman (1977) has suggested that although the reversal is not limited to one type of mover or region, the improved financial ability of the elderly, earlier retirement, the upward shift in age structure of our population, and the high numbers of elderly Americans in large urban areas, many with former residence in rural areas, will provide a large population at risk in urban areas.

The elderly are undoubtedly one of the more important segments of the metro-nonmetro flow in the midwest, as we have pointed out in the text, but still elderly migrants account for a minority of all such migrants. It is not likely that elderly migrants alone, even if their numbers were to increase over the next several decades, could maintain the momentum of the present trend. The elderly are, first of all, the least mobile age group, and like most others they are responsive to other societal changes, some of which have the potential for affecting their propensities to migrate. Economic necessity may well force more of the elderly into later retirement.

Graying: The Future of the New Migration and Research Needs

In a period of high inflation an eroded financial posture may force more of the elderly who are inclined toward moving into considering employment opportunities--full or part-time--and living costs in destinations, and it may force many would-be migrants into a reconsideration of moving in light of the costs associated with moving. There is little doubt that inflation's impact, if any, will be most acutely felt by the relatively fixed-income elderly segment of our population. A host of other changes in urban areas



may have similar impacts on migration rates of urban elderly. Given the uncertainty over how the elderly will be affected by current economic trends or changing urban social conditions, one can sketch alternative migration responses by the elderly, ranging from a reduced inclination to move anywhere, to a heightened attachment to the urban area, to a greater desire to flee urban areas. It is by no means certain that retirements will be associated with moving to the extent they are currently, or that elderly migrants will choose destinations for the same reasons they are now selecting them.

Some of these relationships can be clarified with further research on the motivations of migrants and on the factors or changes which make them more or less attached to urban places. This is clearly an area of research in which migrants as well as people who do not migrate ought to be studied to determine which barriers restrict migration, and which may promote it.

Another research need worth pointing out is that elderly migrants are a component of the stream on which we have little insight into decision making. Their stated reason for migrating--"retirement"--raises more questions than it answers. Not all left urban areas at the moment of retirement, although some did; they could have moved to suburban or urban fringe areas, to other urban areas, or remained where they were. Most older migrants claimed they moved because they "retired." Although it may be an accurate and acceptable reason for migrating, it is hardly an "insightful" reason. Many retirees don't migrate.

There is need also for much more research among recent elderly migrants. We have found, for example, that they are much more likely than younger migrants, or even elderly rural residents, to reside in the more rural locations, outside incorporated places. We do not know yet whether this



settlement pattern is influenced largely by economic factors, by affinity with the areas, or by the social networks which existed prior to the move. Nor do we know what the consequences will be of these settlement patterns for agencies and units of local government charged with providing services to the elderly, or what the consequences are for the adjustment and integration of older migrants in their new settings. We also have not determined whether settlement patterns will have any effect on subsequent mobility. Before we can obtain a fuller understanding of elderly migrants' experiences in rural destination much more attention will have to be given specifically to elderly migrants.

#### Going "Back Home"

Still another of the assorted factors or forces which has received considerable attention in discussions of the new migration is the general notion of "going back" to something, either literally or figuratively. This general theme has been noted in our own analyses in three, somewhat related ways. First, and most obviously, we have attempted to focus special attention on those metro-origin migrants who have literally moved back to a former, rural place of residence (chapter 10). Second, we have in several contexts paid attention to the social ties migrants have built up in the rural area to which they migrated at some time prior to migration, most often in the context of vacations and, more generally, travel. And, third, we noted a small subset of what might be called symbolic returnees, migrants from metropolitan areas who have settled on farms, some with prior farming experience and some without, at least some of whom might be characterized as "returning" to a way of life which they have never directly experienced in the past.



Our several analyses clearly document the importance of "going back" as a factor in the new migration, though whether much explanatory power can be derived from the theme is less clear, as we note below. One-fourth of our metro-origin migrants had lived in the county of current residence at some time in the past. This is certainly an important segment of the urban-to-rural migration stream. We should make clear that these returnees were not necessarily going "back home" because we did not question our respondents about the subjective definition of "home." Many of the returnees probably were going back to the only home they had known in the past because, as we noted, the returnees tended to be younger than the newcomer migrants.

Social ties in the area of destination as a byproduct of recreational pursuits, as distinct from prior residence in the destination area, also figured prominently in our efforts to explore reasons for choosing the new residence. Both social ties and prior residence are most useful in helping to understand why one destination was chosen over another, rather than why migration out of a metropolitan area took place at all, however, as we noted earlier (especially in chapter 10). Many urban residents have lived in an assortment of places and have visited still other places and choose not to migrate. They don't go back, that is.

It is only in a more symbolic sense that "going back" to something can be meaningfully invoked as a factor underlying the new migration in a general sense. Our few urban migrant respondents who have chosen to go into farming are of interest in this context, but they represent such a small fraction of the total stream that we will not dwell on them here. They are of interest because they have chosen a distinctively rural occupation, one



not limited to the particular destination area they chose. More broadly, the often-mentioned appeal of a "simpler way of life," cheaper living costs in the present era of increasing costs, the rural area as a good place to raise children, contain romantic or perhaps better, nostalgic, overtones of a desire to return to something which may only have been experienced vicariously by the migrants themselves, perhaps through reading or television.

Precisely because of the vagueness of what we are here calling a symbolic or figurative "going back," we cannot, at this point, assess the merits of a return theme as a factor underlying the new migration in a general sense. Prior residence and social ties do serve to account for the choice of one destination rather than another, but more research will be needed to fit the "going back" theme into an explanation of the new migration as such.

#### Going Back: Some Thoughts About the Future and Some Questions

Present data do not permit us to pinpoint the extent to which metro migrants to rural areas may have experienced a small town or rural way of life to which they might wish to return. We were able to document residential histories, but we did not probe respondents on their way of life in those former residences. It would seem plausible to argue that migrants who have had a favorable experience of small town life might wish to have more of that type of life, without necessarily returning to a particular small town. More broadly stated, there is unquestionably a large pool of current urban residents with some amount of prior rural or small town background who might be attracted to almost any rural area, say one in which economic conditions are improving (Miller, 1975), irrespective of prior



direct contact with or social ties in that area. We lack data on life experiences in former places of residence which might be perceived by potential migrants as worth reconstructing in a new location. Such data might help to specify the causes underlying the new migration.

To the extent that the appeal of going back to a former way of life may fuel the new migration there is, as we noted above, a large pool of urban residents to whom the appeal might be meaningful. From that perspective one would expect the new migration to continue and perhaps gain in force. By the same token, however, just as off-farm migration has declined in importance as the number of farms declined, there is a definite limit to the pool of urban residents with rural backgrounds. The cities are not attracting new residents from the countryside at the rate experienced some years ago. This suggests a continuing need to monitor the migration process, and a need for other studies as well. To what extent are the urban born and bred appealed to by a rural way of life? The question is broad, and thus should be tied to our earlier suggestion that we need to break down and specify what is meant by rural amenities. The meanings attached to such expressions as "way of life" or "quality of life" are not necessarily widely shared, and greater specificity is essential before further research is undertaken. Our general point is that the "pull" of rural areas is still not very precisely understood.

At a somewhat less abstract level, we might also mention that the significance of social ties in destination choices calls for continued monitoring. What are the vacation patterns of today's urban youth? Do they suggest a continuation of, say, their parents ties with certain potential destination areas, or would one expect shifts in regional preferences as a



function of vacation ties being developed now? We don't now have answers to such questions, but we hope to work toward that end by monitoring the migration process.

#### URBANIZATION OF THE HINTERLAND

We have suggested several forces and structural changes which provide us with at least partial explanations for the origin of the new migration, and we have provided some suggestions about future conditions which may have a bearing on the trend's continuation. Actually trying to establish which of the several suggested factors is instrumental in either producing or promoting the new migration is likely to be an elusive goal. And, perhaps, the goal is not worth pursuing. Schwarzweller (1978:10) suggests that rather than "traverse some tortuous paths of scholarship" for which there are few if any guidelines, "in speculating about conditions that have facilitated the current population reversal, economic trends and comparative circumstances between rural and urban sectors are among the more important factors to consider." Quite simply, the trend may reflect improvements in the levels of goods and services available throughout the nation, not only in cosmopolitan centers, as was the case in the past.

It is widely felt that the "urbanization of rural territory" is perhaps the necessary change which underlies the reversal in many rural areas of the nation. This perspective has been articulated in various ways, by researchers and the media alike. Beale has suggested, for example, that the reversal is largely due to the fact that the gap between urban and rural quality of life has decreased (Beale, 1976). Hawley (1975), states that there has been a territorial expansion of urban institutions, and an increased



interdependence of all settlements, and Wardwell (1977) feels that there has been a separation of urban growth from urban places and over time a gradual integration of rural areas into a national urban system. In somewhat more prosaic terms, the media have suggested that there has been an expansion of the area in which urban people can live (Time, 1976). This perspective reflecting the increasing homogenization of American society has appeared under various guises, ranging from critical discussions of the continued use of the rural-urban dichotomy in explaining cultural and behavioral differences, to analyses demonstrating an emerging homogeneity between metro and nonmetro areas (Glenn, 1977), to suggestions that the nation is becoming a mass society. The causes underlying these trends are not at issue here. All we are trying to suggest is that there is widespread speculation about the reduction in differences which formerly existing between urban and rural areas, and about the role this increased comparability has played in the new migration.

We have no direct evidence in our own research to argue that rural and urban areas are alike or are becoming more comparable. We have, however, data which may be suggestive that at least in the eyes of many migrants the two residential settings may not be very different. Most of the questions we draw on for evidence were not designed to elicit migrants' comparisons of rural and urban residences, in as much as they provide, in aggregate form, some evidence for discussing urban-rural comparability. *insofar as they are nations*

We were especially intrigued by migrants' responses to several questions which, either explicitly or implicitly, reflect on the differences between metro and nonmetro living. First, very few migrants reported adjustment difficulties when they moved to the current residence, even when we controlled on prior residence in the area. This finding was certainly at variance with



the substantial research literature on adjustment difficulties of those moving from rural to urban residences, often from the farm to the city. We felt migrants would have experienced more problems than they have, especially since the disjuncture between prior and current residence is great in terms of population size. Admittedly, there are alternative explanations for our failure to uncover extensive adjustment difficulties, but it is at least worth considering the possibility that urban and rural residences are somewhat comparable.

The second set of data which we might draw on are the quality of life items referring to attributes in the current residence compared with the same attributes of the former residence. We specifically asked migrants to indicate whether particular attributes were better or worse in the present residence than in the former residence, or whether they were about the same. In the chapter which focused on this material we have tended to emphasize those reporting that the present place of residence was better or worse. If we were to concentrate instead on the proportions reporting no difference, i.e., the residences were the same, we would see that on several of the attributes a sizeable portion (20 percent to 30 percent) report that conditions are the same. In addition, we can look at the portions reporting satisfaction with various aspects of the present and prior places of residence for further evidence of residential comparability. We have reported earlier that satisfaction with the prior residence was quite high, with three-fourths or more of the metro migrants satisfied with all dimensions of the community for which we asked assessments (the single exception being taxes in the prior residence). Satisfaction is also quite high in the present residence. From the migrants' perspective, at least, it does not appear that they view the two residences as being in stark contrast to one another.



We are not trying to diminish the importance migrants attached to place differences. Many left urban areas because they felt urban areas were unattractive in a variety of respects; many left because they were attracted by the amenities of rural places; and many reported the new residences were different--better and worse--than the former areas from which they came, but as we noted earlier, the pros and cons did not reflect substantial consensus on particular place characteristics. We are simply trying to point out that on the basis of their responses, rural and urban residences are not as contrasting, in any monolithic sense, as one might have expected if one assumed migrants were leaving urban areas for a vastly different way of life than they experienced in urban areas. The absence of any pronounced difficulties on the part of migrants who are moving to these rural areas, and the similar perspectives with which many migrants and residents view their residences, may illustrate what others have alluded to about the increased compatibility of urban and rural living in the nation.

Finally, another subset of our data also speaks to the general idea that rural-urban differences have diminished, and that this fact may underlie the new migration. Our sample of migrants from other nonmetropolitan areas tended to cite job reasons for moving. We noted that in a variety of respects the nonmetro migrants perhaps fit the basically economic explanation for migration behavior better than the metro migrants, an explanation which of course stems from the body of research on migration to the city. On the other hand, we also noted that it was precisely the nonmetro origin migrants who were least like rural residents in their views on development issues. In other words, the potential for a clashing in points of view between migrants and local residents, which is usually attributed to newcomers from



the city, seemed in our data to lie with nonmetro more than metro migrants. If rural areas are not greatly different from cities, and if rural areas are attracting migrants for reasons much like those that attracted migrants to the city in the past, our nonmetro migrants, who are by no means moving from farm backgrounds into the growth areas, should not have stood out as advocates of change. On balance, these results do not mesh well with the "urbanization of the hinterland" theme as an underlying factor in the new migration.

#### Urbanization: Implications for the New Migration

There is no denying that on a variety of counts once remote rural areas are coming to be more "urbanized" in a general sense. One must recognize the existence and spread of modern transportation, communication, and other service delivery systems to formerly remote areas. It also seems likely that such trends will continue in the years ahead. In some senses we are perhaps experiencing the emergence of a "mass society." If, then, the blurring of distinctions between city and countryside does play an active role in accounting for the new migration, we should expect that migration to continue in the decades ahead and perhaps even accelerate.

By and large, however, we do not feel comfortable with the urbanization theme as an explanatory factor. At various points in our discussion we have expressed concern about the lack of strong consensus among our respondents about what they perceive as attractive in rural life or what they perceive as the problems of life in the city. For such reasons alone we would hesitate to invoke another broad category, in this case the urbanization of the hinterland, as an explanation for a very real phenomenon. And, to the



extent that our respondents do agree on the attractiveness of certain rural amenities or push factors associated with urban living, we have to conclude that they do see differences, and quite a variety of differences between city and countryside. Our general point here, however, is that further research on specific attractants and repellants would seem to be a more productive course to follow, rather than to fall back on another, and highly abstract theme as an explanation for the new migration.

Some other problems with the urbanization theme deserve mention as well. We have focused our research on the North Central region, clearly one of the most highly urbanized regions in the country. We are well aware, however, that the North Central region has not been gaining population as rapidly as the South and Southwest in recent decades. And though we lack detailed data, we have no reason to assume that the North Central region is more affected by the new migration than, say, the so-called "Sunbelt." On the contrary, it seems probable that some of the generally least urbanized regions of the country are more heavily affected by the new trend than is true of the Midwest. Some solid, comparative research on regional differentials in rural population growth should rank high in priority.

Many more specific reservations could be listed, all of which make us hesitant to look to urbanization of the hinterland as an explanation for the new migration. Highway systems have been vastly improved in recent decades, but few of our migrant respondents' commute, thus ease of travel does not seem to play much of a role in their day-to-day life. Communication systems have improved, but no one would argue that the countryside is like the city in, say, reception of television programs. Both the countryside and the city have been changing and continue to change. Ultimately one has to



raise the question: if city and countryside are becoming more alike, if convergence is taking place, why do people migrate, and why are we experiencing a "new" migration?

#### WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

The reversal in migration patterns which we have described and researched<sup>occurred</sup> at a time of widespread acceptance that the trend toward metropolitan concentration was inevitable and would continue well into the future. Attention was instead focused on problems of population distribution, and explicitly on the need for national population policies. Although these issues are still items on the national agenda, much of the prior orientation has changed with the recent and unexpected reversal in the direction of migration flows. How long the current reversal will last and what its eventual magnitude and impacts will be are questions to which there are few if any answers. In this chapter we have suggested numerous research needs which have to be addressed before the new migration is fully understood, and before decision makers can engage in planning for stimulating or directing flows or for redressing any imbalances which the trend's continuation may entail.

Unquestionably, the new migration has stimulated quite a bit of thinking and research, and early in the trend rather than after it had ebbed or progressed further. This is unlike the past rural to urban trend, for which concern over migration did not materialize for several decades after its peak. The current reversal, despite its newness, has been fully documented and its potential implications have been highlighted in numerous publications and forums. Thus, while the new migration has been given relatively early,



widespread attention, there is still much more that has to be done in monitoring the migration process and in conducting basic research on the interrelationships among elements of the migration decision and various societal conditions. We have tried to identify many of these relationships in the preceding pages.

Our research has been useful in providing insights in many different facets of the recent population reversal, and especially from the perspectives of migrants implicated in the trend. There are many additional perspectives, however, which have to be examined before we ~~come~~ to a fuller understanding of what the trend will mean for current and future migrants and for the areas they are leaving and settling in. A research momentum has been generated. If it is to bear fruit, broader issues will have to be addressed and to a greater depth than has been possible up to now.



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University of Illinois  
SURVEY RESEARCH LABORATORY  
URBAN TO RURAL MOBILITY (291)  
Main Questionnaire

3/77

1a. In what month and year did you move here from (City 1) ?

Month \_\_\_\_\_ 26-27

Year \_\_\_\_\_ 28-29

b. Have you lived in more than one home since moving to this county?

Yes . . . . . 1 30

No (Skip to Q.2a) . . . . 2

c. In how many different homes have you lived? \_\_\_\_\_ 31

2a. Was the home you left in (City 1) located within the city limits of (City 1)?

Yes . . . . . 1 32

No . . . . . 2

b. Did you live on a farm or a ranch?

Yes . . . . . 1 33

No . . . . . 2

c. At the time you moved from (City 1), would you describe that place as a . . . . .

Large city of over 50,000, . . . . . 1 34

Large town of 10,000 to 50,000, or . . . . 2

Small town or village of under 10,000? . . 3

3a. Why did you decide to leave (City 1) ? (Probe)

35-37

38-40

41-43

(If only one reason, skip to Q.4)

Career Military: (End interview. R is nonresident) . . . . . 997

(If more than one reason to Q.3a)

b. What was your main reason for leaving (City 1) ?

44-46



4. Now we'd like to get an idea of how satisfied you were with (City 1) as a place to live. Please tell me whether, in general, you were very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with each of the following. What about the . . .

	<u>Very</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>Not very</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>Not at all</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>DK</u>	
a. Availability of employment opportunities for people with job skills like yours? Were you . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	47
b. Quality of the public school system? Were you . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	48
c. Availability of medical care? . 1		2	3	4	8	49
d. Programs available for senior citizens? . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	50
e. Shopping facilities? . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	51
f. Availability of public transportation facilities like buses and taxis? . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	52
g. Friendliness of your neighbors? 1		2	3	4	8	53
h. Outdoor recreational opportunities? . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	54
i. Maintenance of streets and roads? . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	55
j. Local tax rates? . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	56

5. In general, how satisfied were you with (City 1) as a place to live?

Would you say you were . . .	Very satisfied, . . . . .	1	57
	Somewhat satisfied, . . . . .	2	
	Not very satisfied, or . . . .	3	
	Not at all satisfied? . . . .	4	

6. What was the one most important reason for your decision to move to the particular place where you live now instead of some other place?  
(Probe if answer is incomplete or unclear)

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7a. One year before you moved to the county where you now live, did you or your spouse own a house, mobile home, or any other type of housing in this area?

Yes . . . . . 1 61  
No (*Skip to Q.8a*) . . . . . 2

b. In what year did you get this housing? \_\_\_\_\_ 62-63

c. Are you now living in this housing?

Yes (*Skip to Q.9a*) . . . . . 1 64  
No . . . . . 2

8a. When you began looking for housing in this area, were you interested in a . . .

Single family house, . . . . . 1 65  
A duplex, . . . . . 2  
An apartment, . . . . . 3  
A mobile home, or . . . . . 4  
Something else? (*Specify*) . . . 5

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

b. At that time were you able to get the type of housing you were most interested in?

Yes (*Skip to Q.9a*) . . . . . 1 66  
No . . . . . 2

c. Why not? (*Circle one only*)

Not much to choose from . . . . . 1 67  
Too expensive . . . . . 2  
Poorly located . . . . . 3  
Other (*Specify*) . . . . . 4

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



9a. One year before you moved to this area, did you or your spouse own any land here in this area (other than that your housing was on)?

Yes . . . . . 1 68  
No (Skip to Q.10) . . . . 2

b. In what year did you get this land? \_\_\_\_\_

69-70

10. Before moving here, how did you get information about this area?  
Did you . . .

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
a. Ever live here before? . . . . .	1 (Skip to Q.11a)	2	71
b. Vacation here? . . . . .	1	2	72
c. Visit friends or relatives in this area? . .	1	2	73
d. Talk to a real estate agent? . . . . .	1	2	74
e. Read local newspapers? . . . . .	1	2	75
f. Read pamphlets or brochures? . . . . .	1	2	76
g. Do anything else? (Specify) . . . . .	1	2	77

11a. Before moving here, did you seriously consider moving to any other community?

Yes . . . . . 1 78  
No (Skip to Q.12) . . . . . 2

b. Did you consider moving to another community . . .

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
(1) In this county? . . . . .	1	2	79
(2) Outside this county, but in this state? .	1	2	80   2 1-5   DUP 6
(3) Outside this state? . . . . .	1	2	7



12. When you first moved here, was it difficult for you to . . .

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Inappropriate</u>	
(1) Make new friends? . . . . .	1	2	7	8
(2) Find a job? . . . . .	1	2	7	9
(3) Get good medical care? . . . . .	1	2	7	10
(4) Join local clubs or other organizations? . . . . .	1	2	7	11
(5) Buy the things you and your family were used to? . . . . .	1	2	7	12
(6) Do anything else? (Specify) . . . . .	1	2	7	13

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(If more than one "Yes" to Q.12, ask Q.13; Otherwise, skip to Q.14.)

13. What was the one biggest difficulty you had when you first moved here?  
(Enter number from Q.12 above)

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14

14. Overall, how difficult was it for you to get used to living here? Was it . . .

Very difficult, . . . . .	1	15
Somewhat difficult, . . . . .	2	
Not very difficult, or . . . . .	3	
Not difficult at all? . . . . .	4	



15a. Have you or anyone in your family returned to (City 1) since moving here?  
 Yes . . . . . 1 16  
 No (Skip to Q.16) . . . . . 2

b. On the average, about how many times per year do you return to  
(City 1) for any reason? \_\_\_\_\_ times/year <sup>17-18</sup>

c. Have you ever returned there specifically to . . .		(If "Yes" to Q.15c(2,3,4,5))		d. Do you usually return to (City 1) to do this?		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>		
(1) Visit friends or relatives?	1	2	(Do not ask d)			19
(2) Get medical or dental care?	1	2	. . . . . 1	2		20-21
(3) Go to work? . . . . .	1	2	. . . . . 1	2		22-23
(4) Go shopping for clothes? . .	1	2	. . . . . 1	2		24-25
(5) Do anything else? (Specify)	1	2	. . . . . 1	2		26-27
_____						
_____						

(If more than one "Yes" to Q.15c)

e. For which reason do you return there most often?  
 (Enter number from list of categories under Q.15c) \_\_\_\_\_ 28

16. Now I'd like you to compare your current community with the community you lived in just before moving here from (City 1).  
 Where . . .

	<u>Here</u>	or	<u>There?</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>DK</u>	
a. Are your neighbors friendlier? . . . . .	1		2	3	8	29
b. Do you feel safer? . . . . .	1		2	3	8	30
c. Are the tax rates higher? . . . . .	1		2	3	8	31
d. Is the environment healthier? . . . . .	1		2	3	8	32
e. Is there less privacy? . . . . .	1		2	3	8	33
f. Does it cost more to live? . . . . .	1		2	3	8	34
g. Is the better place to raise children? . . .	1		2	3	8	35
h. Is it closer to your family? . . . . .	1		2	3	8	36
i. Is the weather better? . . . . .	1		2	3	8	37
j. Are the schools better? . . . . .	1		2	3	8	38



17.. At the time you moved here from (City 1) were you . . .

Married, . . . . .	1	39
Widowed, ( <i>Skip to Q.19a, p.8</i> ) . . . . .	2	
Divorced, ( <i>Skip to Q.19a, p.8</i> ) . . . . .	3	
Separated, or ( <i>Skip to Q.19a, p.8</i> ) . . . . .	4	
Never married? ( <i>Skip to Q.19a, p.8</i> ) . . . . .	5	

18a. Just before you moved here from (City 1) was your (husband/wife) . . .

Employed full time, ( <i>Skip to Q.19a</i> ) . . . . .	1	40
Employed part time, ( <i>Skip to Q.19a</i> ) . . . . .	2	
Retired, . . . . .	3	
Temporarily unemployed, or ( <i>Skip to Q.19a</i> ) . . . . .	4	
Not employed and not looking for work? ( <i>Skip to Q.19a</i> ) . . . . .	5	

b. Did (he/she) have any part time jobs?

Yes . . . . .	1	41
No . . . . .	2	



19a. Just before you moved here from (City 1) were you . . .

Employed full time, (Skip to Q.20a) . . . . .	1	42
Employed part time, (Skip to Q.20a) . . . . .	2	
Retired, . . . . .	3	
Temporarily unemployed, or (Skip to Q.19c) . . . . .	4	
Not employed and not looking for work? (Skip to Q.21a, p.10) . . . . .	5	

b. Did you have any part time jobs?

Yes (Skip to Q.21a, p.10) . . . . .	1	43
No (Skip to Q.21a, p.10) . . . . .	2	

c. For about how many weeks had you been unemployed before you moved here?

44-45

\_\_\_\_\_ weeks

d. What kind of work were you looking for in (City 1) just before you moved here?

46-47

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

SKIP TO Q.20h, p.9

20a. What was your main occupation or job title?

48-50

b. What kind of work did you do; that is, what were your main duties on this job?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

c. In what type of business or industry was this; that is, what product was made or what service was given?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

d. About how many minutes did it usually take you to travel to work one way?

\_\_\_\_\_ minutes  
51-52



20e. Did you work in the downtown area of a large city of over 50,000?

Yes . . . . . 1 53

No . . . . . 2

f. When you lived in (City 1), in what place (city and state) was your last job located?

City 1 Job Site: City \_\_\_\_\_

54-55

State \_\_\_\_\_

g. When you first moved here did you continue to work in (City 1 Job Site)?

Yes (Skip to Q.21a, p.10) . . . . . 1 56

No . . . . . 2

20 h. When you first moved here were you . . .

Employed full time, (Skip to Q.20j) . . . . . 1 57

Employed part time, (Skip to Q.20j) . . . . . 2

Retired, (Skip to Q.21a, p.10) . . . . . 3

Temporarily unemployed, or . . . . . 4

Not employed and not looking for work?

(Skip to Q.21a, p.10) . . . . . 5

i. For about how many weeks were you unemployed just after you moved here?

58-59

\_\_\_\_\_ weeks

(Skip to Q.21a, p.10)

j. How did you find out about this job?

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60



21a. Just before you moved here did you know anyone who lived here in this area?

Yes . . . . .	1	61
No ( <i>Skip to Q.22a</i> ) . . . . .	2	

b. How were these people related to you? Were they . . .

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
(1) Your children? . . . . .	1	2	62
(2) Other relatives? . . . . .	1	2	63
(3) Close friends? . . . . .	1	2	64
(4) Someone else? . . . . .	1	2	65

22a. When you moved here from (City 1), did any friends or relatives help you in any way?

Yes . . . . .	1	66
No ( <i>Skip to Q.23a</i> ) . . . . .	2	

b. In what ways did they help you? (*Circle all that apply*)

(1) Move your household goods . . . . .	1	67
(2) Let you live with them temporarily : 2		68
(3) Locate housing . . . . .	3	69
(4) Find a job . . . . .	4	70
(5) Pay for your move . . . . .	1	71
(6) Meet other people . . . . .	2	72
(7) Find stores . . . . .	3	73
(8) Other ( <i>Specify</i> ) . . . . .	4	74

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23a. Do you now have any children who live in another residence within 30 miles of your home?

Yes . . . . .	1	75
No ( <i>Skip to Q.24a</i> ) . . . . .	2	

b. About how many times per month do you see them?

\_\_\_\_\_ times/month 76-77



24a. Had you ever lived in this county before moving here from (City 1) ?

Yes . . . . . 1 78

No (Skip to Q.24d) . . . . . 2

79 | BK

b. All together, how many years have you lived in this county? 1-5 | 80 | 3  
DUP

\_\_\_\_\_ years 6 7

c. In what year did you last move away from here?

\_\_\_\_\_ 8 9

d. At the time you moved from (City 1) were you mainly . . .

Happy about leaving, . . . . . 110

Unhappy about leaving, or . . . . . 2

Did you have mixed feelings? . . . 3

Don't know . . . . . 8

(If R was not married at time of move, skip to Q.26a)

26a. Just before you moved away from (City 1)

(Ask only if R was married at time of move)

25a. Had your (husband/wife) ever lived in this county before moving here from (City 1) ?

Yes . . . . . 1 11

No (Skip to Q.25c) . . . . . 2

b. In what year did (he/she) last move away from here?

\_\_\_\_\_ 12 13

c. At the time you moved from (City 1), was your (husband/wife) mainly . . .

Happy about leaving, . . . . . 1 14

Unhappy about leaving, or . 2

Did (he/she) have mixed feelings? . . . . . 3

Don't know . . . . . 8

did you live in a . . .

Single family house, . . . . . 1 15

A duplex, . . . . . 2

An apartment, . . . . . 3

A mobile home, or . . . . . 4

Something else? (Specify) . 5

b. Did you own or rent your residence?

Own . . . . . 1 16

Rent . . . . . 2



27a. During the year before you moved here, was your total household income before taxes . . .

More than \$5,000? No . . . . .	1	15
More than \$10,000? No . . . . .	2	
More than \$15,000? No . . . . .	3	
More than \$20,000? No . . . . .	4	
More than \$25,000? No . . . . .	5	
More than \$30,000? No . . . . .	6	
Yes . . . . .	7	
Don't know . . . . .	8	
Refused . . . . .	9	

b. In the year just after you moved here would you say your total household income was more, less, or about the same as your income during the year just before you moved here?

More . . . . .	1	16
Less . . . . .	2	
Same . . . . .	3	
Don't know . . . . .	8	
Refused . . . . .	9	

28a. Did you live in (City 1) continuously since you were born excluding the time you may have spent away at school or in the military?

Yes ( <i>Skip to Q*34a,p.15</i> ) . . . . .	1	19
No . . . . .	2	

b. In what year did you move to (City 1) ? \_\_\_\_\_

20-21

29a. In what place (city, county, and state) were you living just before you moved to (City 1), excluding places you may have lived while away at school or in the military?

City 2 \_\_\_\_\_

County 2 \_\_\_\_\_

State 2 \_\_\_\_\_

22-24

25-26

b. Was the home you left in (City 2) located within the city limits of (City 2) ?

Yes . . . . .	1	27
No . . . . .	2	



c. Did you live on a farm or a ranch? Yes . . . . . 1 28  
No . . . . . 2

d. At the time you moved from (City 2) was that place a . . .  
Large city of over 50,000, (Skip to Q.29f) 1 29  
Large town of 10,000 to 50,000, or . . . . 2  
Small town or village of under 10,000? . . 3

e. Was your home within 30 miles of a large city of over 50,000?  
Yes . . . . . 1 30  
No . . . . . 2

f. What was your main reason for leaving (City 2) ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ 31-33

30a. Did you live in (City 2) continuously since the time you were born,  
excluding the time you may have spent away at school or in the military?  
Yes (Skip to Q\*34a,p.15) . 1 34  
No . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . . . . 8

b. Did you move to (City 2) before 1960?  
Yes (Skip to Q.33a,p.15) . 1 35  
No . . . . . 2

c. In what year did you move to (City 2) ? \_\_\_\_\_ 36-37

31a. In what place (city, county, and state) were you living just before you moved  
to (City 2), excluding places you may have lived while away at school or  
in the military?  
City 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 38-40  
County 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 41-42  
State 3 \_\_\_\_\_

b. Was the home you left in (City 3) located within the city limits  
of (City 3) ?  
Yes . . . . . 1 43  
No . . . . . 2



c. Did you live on a farm or a ranch? Yes . . . . . 1 44  
No . . . . . 2

d. At the time you moved from (City 3) was that place a . . .  
Large city of over 50,000, (*Skip to Q.31f*) . . 1 45  
Large town of 10,000 to 50,000, or . . . . . 2  
Small town or village of under 10,000? . . . . 3

e. Was your home within 30 miles of a large city of over 50,000?  
Yes . . . . . 1 46  
No . . . . . 2

f. What was your main reason for leaving (City 3) ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ 47-49

32a. Did you live in (City 3) continuously since you were born other than  
times you may have been temporarily away at school or in the military?  
Yes (*Skip to Q\*34a, p.15*) . . . 1 50  
No . . . . . 2

b. In what year did you move to (City 3) ? \_\_\_\_\_ 51-52



33a. In what place (city, county, state) did you live for most of the time before you were 18?

City 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 59-55  
County 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 56-57  
State 4 \_\_\_\_\_

b. For most of the time before you were 18, did you live within the city limits of (City 4) ?

Yes . . . . . 1 58  
No . . . . . 2

c. Did you live on a farm or a ranch?

Yes . . . . . 1 59  
No . . . . . 2

d. At the time you moved away from (City 4) was that place a . . .

Large city of over 50,000, (*Skip to Q\*34a*) . . 1 60  
Large town of 10,000 to 50,000, or . . . . . 2  
Small town or village of under 10,000? . . . . 3

e. Was your home within 30 miles of a large city of over 50,000?

Yes . . . . . 1 61  
No . . . . . 2

\*34a. In what place (city or town) do you now live?

Current City \_\_\_\_\_

b. Is your home located within the city limits of (Current city) ?

Yes . . . . . 1 62  
No . . . . . 2



35a. Do you live on a farm or ranch?

Yes . . . . .	1	63
No ( <i>Skip to Q.36</i> ) . . . . .	2	

b. How many acres of farm land do you own, rent, or lease?

64-67

\_\_\_\_\_ acres

(*If none, indicate "0" and skip to Q.36*)

c. In 1976 did you raise or produce any farm products for sale?

Yes . . . . .	1	68
No ( <i>Skip to Q.36</i> ) . . . . .	2	

d. Did these sales amount to \$250 or more?

Yes . . . . .	1	69
No . . . . .	2	

e. In 1976, about what percentage of your total family income came from these sales?

\_\_\_\_\_ % 70-72

*Lost money* . . . 997



36. We'd like to get an idea of how satisfied you are with your community as a place to live. Please tell me whether, in general, you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with each of the following in (Current City).

What about the . . .	<u>Very</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>Not very</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>Not at all</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>DK</u>	
a. Availability of employment opportunities for people with job skills like yours? Are you . . . . . 1	2	3	4	8	73	
b. Quality of the public school system? Are you . . . . . 1	2	3	4	8	74	
c. Availability of medical care? . 1	2	3	4	8	75	
d. Programs available for senior citizens? . . . . . 1	2	3	4	8	76	
e. Shopping facilities? . . . . . 1	2	3	4	8	77	
f. Availability of public transportation facilities like buses and taxis? . . . . . 1	2	3	4	8	78	
g. Friendliness of your neighbors? . . . . . 1	2	3	4	8	79	
h. Outdoor recreational opportunities? . . . . . 1	2	3	4	8	6	80   4 1-5   DUP
i. Maintenance of streets and roads? . . . . . 1	2	3	4	8	7	
j. Local tax rates? . . . . . 1	2	3	4	8	8	

37. In general, how satisfied are you with this community as a place to live?  
Would you say you are . . .

Very satisfied, . . . . . 1	9
Somewhat satisfied, . . . . . 2	
Not very satisfied, or . . . 3	
Not at all satisfied? . . . 4	



38a. About how many miles is your home from the center of (Current City) ?

\_\_\_\_\_ miles 10-11

b. We'd like to get an idea of how far you need to travel to do various activities.

About how many miles do you travel to . . .	<u>Miles</u>	<u>Inappropriate</u>
(1) Do your grocery shopping? . . . . .	_____	997 12-14
(2) Shop for major appliances? . . . . .	_____	997 15-17
(3) Get medical care? . . . . .	_____	997 18-20
(4) Do your banking? . . . . .	_____	997 21-23
(5) Get repairs or service for your car or major appliances? . . . . .	_____	997 24-26
(6) Attend religious services? . . . . .	_____	997 27-29

39. Do you think the elected officials of your community should try to . . .

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	
a. Keep new factories out of the area? . . . . .	1	2	8	30
b. Attract tourists and promote recreation? . . . . .	1	2	8	31
c. Develop the business district of the community? . . . . .	1	2	8	32
d. Attract new residents to the area? . . . . .	1	2	8	33

40. For each of the following please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree.

Local taxes should be increased to . . .	<u>Strongly agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>	
a. Improve schools in the area. Do you . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	34
b. Build parks and playgrounds. Do you . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	35
c. Get better medical facilities . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	36
d. Improve security and police protection . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	37
e. Provide better services and facilities for senior citizens, such as hot meal programs, meeting rooms, and so on . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	38
f. Improve roads in the area . . . . .	1	2	3	4	8	39



41a. In the past few years would you say there has been a large increase, small increase, no change, a small decrease, or a large decrease in the number of people living in this county?

Large increase . . . . .	1	40
Small increase . . . . .	2	
No change . . . . .	3	
Small decrease . . . . .	4	
Large decrease . . . . .	5	
Don't know (Skip to Q.42a) . . . .	8	

b. Overall, would you say this has been good or bad for the county?

Good . . . . .	1	41
Bad . . . . .	2	
Neither (Skip to Q.42a) . . . .	3	
Don't know (Skip to Q.42a) . . . .	8	

c. In what ways? (Circle all that apply)

More tax money available . . . . .	1	42
More money spent in area . . . . .	2	43
More investment . . . . .	3	44
More factories, businesses . . . . .	4	45
More jobs available . . . . .	1	46
More people with new ideas . . . . .	2	47
<hr/>		
Raises taxes . . . . .	3	48
Makes factories, businesses leave . . . . .	4	49
Raises unemployment . . . . .	1	50
Overcrowds the area . . . . .	2	51
Brings undesirable people . . . . .	3	52
Increases crime . . . . .	4	53
Other (Specify) . . . . .	1	54

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42a. If many people from big cities began to move into your community, do you think this would be good or bad for your community?

Good . . . . .	1	55
Bad . . . . .	2	
Neither (Skip to Q.43) . . .	3	
Don't know (Skip to Q.43) . .	8	

b. In what ways? (Circle all that apply)

More tax money available . . . . .	1	56
More money spent in area . . . . .	2	57
More investment . . . . .	3	58
More factories, businesses . . . . .	4	59
More jobs available . . . . .	1	60
More people with new ideas . . . . .	2	61
<hr/>		
Raises taxes . . . . .	3	62
Makes factories and business leave . . . . .	4	63
Raises unemployment . . . . .	1	64
Overcrowds the area . . . . .	2	65
Brings undesirable people . . . . .	3	66
Increases crime . . . . .	4	67
Other (Specify) . . . . .	1	68

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43. If many people from big cities began to move out of the cities, do you think this would be good or bad for the cities?

Good . . . . .	1	69
Bad . . . . .	2	
Neither . . . . .	3	
Don't know . . . . .	8	

44. During the time you have lived in (Current place) have you . . .

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
a. Attended religious services regularly? . . . . .	1	2	70
b. Usually voted in local elections? . . . . .	1	2	71
c. Ever held an elected position in local government? . . . . .	1	2	72
d. Ever held an elected position in any club or other local organization? . . . . .	1	2	73

45. In total, about how many different clubs or other local organizations do you belong to now?



46a. Would you prefer to live in this community or would you prefer to live somewhere else?

Live in community . . . . . 1 75  
Live somewhere else . . . . . 2

b. If you actually did move, would you prefer to live in . . .

A big city of more than 50,000, (*Skip to Q.46d*) . . 1 76  
A large town of 10,000 to 50,000, . . . . . 2  
A small town or village of under 10,000, . . . . . 3  
On a farm, or . . . . . 5  
In the countryside but not on a farm? . . . . . 4  
*Don't know* . . . . . 8

c. About how many miles away from a big city would you prefer to live?

\_\_\_\_\_ miles 77-78

d. Within the next three years do you think you will . . .

Definitely move, . . . . . 1 79  
Probably move, . . . . . 2 80 | 5  
Probably not move, or (*Skip to Q.47a,p.22*) 3<sup>1-5</sup> | DUF  
Definitely not move? (*Skip to Q.47a,p.22*) . 4  
*Don't know* (*Skip to Q.47a, p.22*) . . . . . 8

e. Why is this?

\_\_\_\_\_ 6-8  
\_\_\_\_\_ 9-11  
\_\_\_\_\_ 12-14

f. Do you think you will move to another residence . . .

In this community, . . . . . 1 15  
In a different community but in this county, . 2  
In a different county, but in this state, or . 3  
In a different state? . . . . . 4  
*Don't know* . . . . . 8



47a. Are you currently . . .

Married, . . . . . 1 16  
 Widowed, . . . . . 2  
 Divorced, . . . . . 3  
 Separated, or . . . . . 4  
 Never married? . . . . . 5

b. How many people currently live in your household? \_\_\_\_\_ 17-18

(If "1", skip to Q.47d)

c. How (are these people/  
 is this person) related  
 to you?

d. (Ask only if necessary)  
 What is your \_\_\_\_\_'s sex?

Male Female

e. In what year  
 (were you/was  
 your \_\_\_\_\_) born?

R	19	1	2	20	_____	21-23
	24	1	2	25	_____	26-28
	29	1	2	30	_____	31-33
	34	1	2	35	_____	36-38
	39	1	2	40	_____	41-43
	44	1	2	45	_____	46-48
	49	1	2	50	_____	51-53
	54	1	2	55	_____	56-58
	59	1	2	60	_____	61-63
	64	1	2	65	_____	66-68

If R is not married, skip to Q.51, p.24

48. What is the highest grade or year of school your (husband/wife) has completed?

Grade school . . 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 69-70  
 High school . . . . . 09 10 11 12  
 College . . . . . 13 14 15 16  
 Some graduate school . . . . . 17  
 Master's degree . . . . . 18  
 Ph.D. or professional degree . . . . . 19



49a. Is your husband/wife currently . . . . .

- |  |   |    |
|--|---|----|
| Employed, full time ( <i>Skip to Q.50a</i> ) . . . . .                           | 1 | 71 |
| Employed, part time ( <i>Skip to Q.50a</i> ) . . . . .                           | 2 |    |
| Retired, . . . . .   | 3 |    |
| Temporarily unemployed, or ( <i>Skip to Q.49c</i> ) . .                          | 4 |    |
| Not employed and not looking for work?<br>( <i>Skip to Q.51,p.24</i> ) . . . . . | 5 |    |

b. For about how many years has (he/she) been retired?

\_\_\_\_\_ years 72-73

*Skip to Q.51,p.24*

c. For about how many weeks has (he/she) been unemployed?

\_\_\_\_\_ weeks 74-75

*Skip to Q.51,p.24*

50a. What is (his/her) main occupation or job title?

76-78

79 | B1

b. What kind of work does (he/she) do; that is, what are (his/her) main duties on this job?

80 | 6

1-5 | DUP

c. In what type of business or industry is this; that is, what product is made or what service is given?

d. About how many minutes does it usually take (him/her) to travel to work one way?

\_\_\_\_\_ minutes 6-7



51. What is the highest grade or year of school you have completed?

Grade school . . .	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	8-9
High school . . . . .					09	10	11	12	
College . . . . .					13	14	15	16	
Some graduate school . . . . .								17	
Master's degree . . . . .								18	
Ph.D. or professional degree . . . . .								19	

52a. Are you currently . . . . .

Employed, full time ( <i>Skip to Q.53a</i> ) . . . . .	1	10
Employed, part time ( <i>Skip to Q.53a</i> ) . . . . .	2	
Retired, . . . . .	3	
Temporarily unemployed, or ( <i>Skip to Q.52c</i> ) . . . . .	4	
Not employed and not looking for work? ( <i>Skip to Q.54a, p.25</i> ) . . . . .	5	

b. For about how many years have you been retired?

\_\_\_\_\_ years 11-12

*Skip to Q.54a, p.25*

c. For about how many weeks have you been unemployed?

\_\_\_\_\_ weeks 13-14

*Skip to Q.54a, p.25*

53a. What is your main occupation or job title?

15-17

b. What kind of work do you do; that is, what are your main duties on this job?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

c. In what type of business or industry is this; that is, what product is made or what service is given?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



d. In what place (city and state) do you now work?

Current Job Site City \_\_\_\_\_

18-19

State \_\_\_\_\_

e. About how many minutes does it usually take you to travel to work one way?

\_\_\_\_\_ minutes 20-21

54a. Do you live in a . . .

Single family house, . . . . .	1	22
A duplex, . . . . .	2	
An apartment, . . . . .	3	
A mobile home, or . . . . .	4	
Something else? ( <i>Specify</i> ) . . .	5	

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b. Do you own or rent your residence?

Own . . . . .	1	23
Rent . . . . .	2	

c. Considering the needs of your family, would you say your present housing is . . .

Adequate, or . . . . .	1	24
Inadequate? . . . . .	2	
<i>Don't know</i> . . . . .	8	

d. Within the next year, do you plan any major remodeling of your present housing?

Yes . . . . .	1	25
No . . . . .	2	



55. In 1976 was your total family income from all sources before taxes . . .

More than \$5,000? No . . . . .	1	26
More than \$10,000? No . . . . .	2	
More than \$15,000? No . . . . .	3	
More than \$20,000? No . . . . .	4	
More than \$25,000? No . . . . .	5	
More than \$30,000? No . . . . .	6	
Yes . . . . .	7	
Don't know . . . . .	8	
Refused . . . . .	9	

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

Time interview ended \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ AM  
☐ PM

Date of interview / / / /

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FOR CODING PURPOSES ONLY

Screeners, p.1, Q.S3a or S3d City 1 _____	_____	27
Main Questionnaire, p.9, Q.20f: City 1 Job Site _____	_____	28
p.12, Q.29a: City 2 _____	_____	29
p.13, Q.31a: City 3 _____	_____	30
p.15, Q.33a: City 4 _____	_____	31
p.15, Q*34a: Current City _____	_____	32
p.25, Q.53d: Current Job Site _____	_____	33

34-70	BK
71-73	CD
74-76	CK
77-79	KP
80	7



## Appendix B

### Survey Methodology

The major objectives of the research have been to address, across a broad geographical base, some of the questions being raised by the new migration so that we might begin to make some generalizations about the migration processes involved in the trend. Several methodological issues arose which had to be resolved prior to the survey: 1) Sampling would have to encompass a population sufficiently large to permit generalization to a broad area, yet without increasing survey costs or the difficulty of locating respondents; 2) a method had to be devised for identifying and locating the desired sample respondents, particularly metropolitan origin migrants who we assumed were a rare segment of the population; and 3) decisions had to be made regarding the types of samples that would permit an inquiry into the issues posed by the new migration and addressed in the research.

#### Selection of Sample Counties

There is no way, short of random digit dialing, of identifying migrant households on a broad regional level. This fact alone has spawned ingenious and varied techniques of identifying recent immigrants, but these techniques are not practical or efficient over a broad area. Given that we would be conducting phone interviews among recent migrants, we decided to restrict the survey to nonmetropolitan counties in which the probabilities of locating migrants in the general population would be relatively high. We thus decided to sample households from the population in the high net immigration counties of the region.

As of November 1975 there were 866 nonmetropolitan counties in the 12 states of the North Central Region. Many, but not all, have been experiencing



immigration in the current decade according to annual population estimates. A selection criterion of greater than 10 percent net immigration, 1970 to 1975, was applied, yielding 75 high net immigration target counties. This target group contained no counties in either Iowa or Kansas while Missouri and Michigan accounted for 24 and 21 counties, respectively. An examination of county data has revealed that the target counties are by no means homogeneous with regard to factors suggested to be important to the recent trends toward migration growth in nonmetropolitan counties. There is considerable variability among the counties on such indicators as population change, net migration in the previous decade, changes in the farm population, proportions employed in the various industrial sectors, and proportions working outside the county of residence. Forty-eight of the counties contained no urban place in 1970, and <sup>only</sup> 25 of the counties were adjacent to an SMSA in 1975.

#### Selection of Sample Households

Within these high immigration counties a survey population of 316,430 households with telephones was estimated from 1975 census estimates of households and 1970 estimates of telephone coverage for the target counties. Telephone exchange areas were identified for each of the counties and the most recent telephone directories (1976 or 1977) were obtained. A systematic random sample of 11,329 households was drawn from listings in these directories using a sampling interval of one in 28.

The average telephone coverage of households for the target counties was 82.5 percent in 1970. Only six counties, which accounted for less than 4 percent of the survey population, had phone coverage of less than 70 percent. Estimates by the Bureau of the Census indicate that national phone coverage has increased since 1970 and thus the 1970 phone coverage data may overestimate the potential for bias. Available data indicate that unlisted



numbers are only a problem in large metropolitan areas and thus present virtually no source of bias in this study. A further potential source of bias unique to this study is the tendency for recent immigrants to be excluded from telephone listings. Only five immigrant households were located which had moved in in 1977, though the distribution of migrants by year of immigration is fairly regular for 1970-1976.

In order to further maximize the probability of locating a post-1970 immigrant on any given call, a preliminary screening procedure was adopted in which names, addresses and phone numbers obtained from the 1976 (1977) directories were matched with the appropriate 1970 telephone directory. This matching, performed at the Library of Congress, yielded two strata: 1) 5,535 "expected resident" households (matched households); and 2) 5,794 "expected immigrant" households (unmatched). As expected, some problems arose over common surnames, intra-county migration, and the redrawing of telephone exchange areas. All ambiguous cases were treated as unmatched households and placed in the expected migrant stratum. The matching technique proved to be extremely efficient for identifying nonmetropolitan residents.

This preliminary screening technique is novel and carries some unknown sources of bias which we can only speculate about. Unmatched phone numbers may result from a variety of situations including errors of omission in matching and new households resulting from marriage, <sup>or from only recently obtaining a</sup> Similarly a matched <sup>phone.</sup> number may, upon interview, turn out to be a migrant household which had moved out of the county and back in during the 1970-1977 interval. While the screening questions allow accurate final allocation of households to migrant type groups, errors in the matching phase affect the usefulness of population



estimation parameters. Estimation weights are not central to the analysis employed in this report. Twenty-four percent of the expected immigrant stratum was found to be such, and 90 percent of the matched phone number stratum turned out to be residents. Over all, we achieved approximately a 50 percent reduction in screening calls necessary to locate the required numbers of interviews in the various groups.

### Selection of Sample Types

Three strata were identified at the outset of the survey as being important for purposes of the study: 1) area residents, individuals living in the county continuously since April 1, 1970; 2) metropolitan origin immigrants who had moved in since April 1970; and 3) nonmetropolitan origin immigrants who had moved in since April 1970. The residents and nonmetropolitan migrants provide important control groups with which the urban-to-rural migrants can be compared.

Approximately 20 percent of all calls resulted in noninterviews, mainly because telephones were disconnected or not in service. In large part, this reflects the large number of vacation homes in many of the target counties. Once a valid respondent had been contacted, but prior to identification of respondent type, the refusal rate was 3.7 percent. The refusal rate on the main interview was 9 percent for the metropolitan migrants and 3 percent for the nonmetropolitan migrants and residents. In general, the refusal rates were rather low even for a telephone survey. Interview length ranged from 30 to 50 minutes and interviewers reported that respondents generally were very cooperative and enjoyed the questions.

The telephone matching technique ultimately produced six respondent groups. Three of these were consistent with our intended strategy: 1)



residents who were identified and interviewed out of calls to the expected resident sample of households; 2) nonmetropolitan migrants interviewed from the expected migrant sample; and 3) metropolitan migrants interviewed from the expected migrant sample. The imprecision inherent in the matching procedure, and the out- and return-migration of some individuals in the years between the two matching dates, produced three additional respondent types: 1) metropolitan migrants from the expected resident sample, 2) nonmetropolitan migrants from the expected resident sample, and 3) residents from the expected migrant sample. Since there were relatively few migrants obtained from the expected resident stratum they were deleted from the survey. There was, however, a sufficiently large number of residents nested in the non-matched, expected migrant stratum to warrant special attention.

On the basis of a priori reasoning that the residents in the nonmatched, expected migrant stratum may constitute a different population, an additional random sample was drawn of all residents identified in this manner. This second group of residents presents a problem in subsequent analysis insofar as residents from the expected migrant stratum were not sampled in the same proportion as residents from the expected resident stratum. This was corrected by weighting and the two resident samples were combined. Tests of differences ( $p = < .10$ ) between the groups on 375 variables suggested that while weighting might not be necessary, a few of the significant group differences between the two resident substrata on crucial variables such as age of respondent provide some evidence that weights should be used to combine the two groups.

The weights used in the present research have been manipulated so as to allow a presentation of data for the total resident group equal to the actual number of interviews obtained. For example, for purposes of com-



binning the two resident groups, the 152 interviews with residents from the migrant subsample have been assigned a weight equal to .8, and the 274 interviews with residents from the resident subsample with a weight equal to 1.11. No further weighting is employed since all percentages are computed within main categories of respondent type. In order to assure sufficient numbers of interviews of each of the above sample types, successive random subsampling was employed within strata until a priori numbers of completed interviews of each migrant/ resident group were obtained.

#### Significance testing

The complexity of the sampling strategy makes significance testing problematic. The use of disproportionate stratified sampling, and thus different probabilities of selection for the two migrant and one (combined) resident groups, deviates from the assumption of simple random sampling required for most significance tests (Kish, 1965: 77ff). There is no simple yet accurate solution to this problem.

For purposes of clarity and convenience, we have chosen to avoid complicated routines for purposes of significance testing. We have decided to provide confidence intervals for percentages rather than pair-wise tests for group differences or other statistics. That is, virtually all of the data presented in the text refer to percentages of some specified group with comparisons across groups. For polytomous variables, the percentages may be interpreted as a series of dichotomies and interval estimates remain valid.

However, we should note that strictly speaking, comparisons across sampling strata require proportional weighting and adjustments to the standard formulas for interval estimates. No weighting or adjustment has been made and our confidence intervals assume that data for metropolitan and nonmetro-



politan origin migrants, and residents are from independent random samples.

Table B-2 presents five-percent intervals for various base N's and percentages. The values in the body of the Table are absolute and should be added and subtracted to the relevant point estimate. In comparing two groups, the reader may ascertain, using these intervals, whether or not the intervals for two groups' percentages overlap and thus judge whether or not the two point estimate percentages are significantly different at the 5-percent level. This technique, however, provides a stronger test of significance than the standard test of whether the difference between two percentages is different from zero. That is, the intervals may overlap somewhat and still be significantly different at the 5-percent level.

Values in Table B-1 are derived from the following:

$$Sp = \sqrt{pq/N}$$

where Sp = the standard error of the percentage

p = observed percentage

q = 100 - p

N = base N

then:

$$ci = p \pm 1.96 Sp$$

### Limitations

As with any survey, numerous limitations exist which serve to condition statements made on the basis of the data. First, the sampling design precludes addressing certain types of research questions. It should be noted that we have a sample of migrants at their places of destination, not samples of people in metropolitan areas or of all metropolitan (or nonmetropolitan) outmigrants. Thus, we cannot directly address such questions as why people



leave cities in general, or whether metropolitan outmigrants tend to move down the urban hierarchy in an attempt to achieve size of place preferences. We can only address questions of why those who came to the target areas moved, or whether, in contrast to other migrants and residents, those who have migrated into the target areas go disproportionately to open country or small town residences. These subtle but important distinctions in questions appropriate to the research design need to be kept in mind in order to avoid misinterpreting the data.

Second, our data are generalizable only to the target counties, defined as high net immigration counties in the North Central Region. Since the target counties were selected on the basis of rates, rather than numbers, we are generalizing to areas with proportionally rapid net immigration, not to those counties acquiring the largest absolute numbers of net immigrants. No effort was made to insure that the selection of respondents was proportional to any county-level parameter. Indeed, such would not have been impossible for immigrants since only net migrant estimates are available for post-1970, and then not for households. However, since the original sample was drawn from recent phone books in a random fashion, the sample reflected numbers of households approximately proportionate to household counts in the counties. Beyond that, the final counts of interviews with each of respondent types for each of the counties reflects a myriad of factors, including differing numbers of households, differing rates of household immigration, different rates of disconnected phones, and differing refusal rates. In light of these contingencies no attempt will be made to array data by any county level characteristics, and interpretations of the data will apply only to the stated universe, in the aggregate.



Third, it should also be noted that each of the three respondent types for which data are reported have been sampled with differing probabilities of selection. As a result standard errors, and levels of confidence in the data, differ across the three groups. For purposes of this publication, it is sufficient to point out that we have the greatest confidence in data for the migrants from metropolitan areas, slightly less for the nonmetropolitan migrants, and the least for residents.

Finally, there are the biases normally associated with telephone surveys: households without telephones or with unlisted numbers. The average telephone coverage of households for the target counties was 82.5 percent in 1970. Only six counties, which accounted for less than 4 percent of the survey population, had phone coverage of less than 70 percent. Estimates by the Bureau of the Census indicate that national phone coverage has increased since 1970 and thus the 1970 phone coverage data may overestimate the potential for bias. In general, the bias associated with incomplete coverage tends to result in an underrepresentation of lower socio-economic level households. Unlisted numbers present virtually no source of bias in this study. Available data indicate that unlisted numbers are only problematic for surveys conducted in large metropolitan areas. Urban, 1976



Table B-1 Five-percent confidence limits ( $\pm$ ) for selected base N's and percentages.

Percentage value for a dichotomy	Base N									
	50	100	150	200	250	300	350	400	450	500
10	8.3	5.7	4.8	4.2	3.7	3.4	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.6
20	11.1	7.8	6.4	5.5	5.0	4.5	4.2	3.9	3.7	3.5
30	12.7	9.0	7.3	6.4	5.7	5.2	4.8	4.5	4.2	4.0
40	13.6	9.6	7.8	6.8	6.1	5.5	5.1	4.8	4.5	4.3
50	13.9	9.8	8.0	6.9	6.2	5.7	5.2	4.9	4.6	4.4
60	13.6	9.6	7.8	6.8	6.1	5.5	5.1	4.8	4.5	4.3
70	12.7	9.0	7.3	6.4	5.7	5.2	4.8	4.5	4.2	4.0
80	11.1	7.8	6.4	5.5	5.0	4.5	4.2	3.9	3.7	3.5
90	8.3	5.7	4.8	4.2	3.7	3.4	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.6





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